DUMBARTON OAKS VERSUS ALBANY *By the Editors*

AUGUST 29
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NEW MASSES

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BEHIND CHINA'S DEFEATS

by R. V. Wilson

MEN AROUND DEWEY

by Sender Garlin

TWO STEPS FORWARD, ONE BACK

Earl Browder reviews Eric Johnston's book

THE REAL PHILADELPHIA STORY

Douglas MacMahon, transit union official, says "Plot, not strike."

RICHARD WRIGHT IN RETREAT

by Samuel Sillen

THE SUPREME COURT TODAY—

FIRST OF TWO ARTICLES *by Leonard Boudin*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

THE Hearst Press, bad tonsil of the body politic, sooner or later provides a home for all the better known viruses. The latest pride of San Simeon is Westbrook Pegler, recently booted out of the Scripps-Howard organization. The Roy Howard papers, of course, are no shining examples of progressivism. It was constant pressure applied over a long period of time that caused Mr. Howard to realize that a Pegler contract was no special asset to his syndicate. Mr. Howard's readers, can, we believe, continue their service to his syndicate. They can draw attention to one Frederick Woltman, now living in the plumbing of Telegram Square. A hit-the-road order from his boss would prove that the latter is really paying heed to the customers. As for Pegler, short of obscurity we can think of nothing better for him than this new found trough. He has at last found his true level.

ANOTHER event of note, maybe not so momentous, and less publicized, is the loss of an old reader by NEW MASSES. Last week, after a long and unwavering subscription record, Robert Stripling, chief investigator of the Dies Committee, cancelled his subscription with the magazine. With his boss out of business, Stripling could see no reason for remaining hep to the ideas in the camp of his enemies. The circulation department tore up his card with a great show of zest, but it was an action in which sentiment dominated. To the office realists, it meant that the circulation graph nosed downward—by one, at least. But you can save the situation, and at the same time show your appreciation for the future political demise of all the Striplings, by sending in a subscription in place of the cancelled one. You can label the sub specifically to that effect and if you accompany your order with a letter, we will publish it in this column.

WHILE on the subject of subs, we must say this: if our campaign for subscriptions is a railroad train, then the hot summer months seems to have brought about a temporary track shortage. One is apt to forget that fact while meandering about the beaches and dunes of Provincetown, but even up there we were abruptly reminded of the problem. In the shack of an old Portuguese fisherman, we ran across a shelffull of NM back numbers. When we expressed our surprise at finding the magazine in his shack, he explained that friends of his, coming there from the city, always left a few copies behind. He had subsequently formed the habit of reading the magazine, but when his friends went into the army, or vacationed elsewhere, he stopped reading it. He was surprised to learn that the mailman could deliver NM to his door each week. Nobody, he explained, had ever told him. Now we don't expect all our readers to stumble into an igloo, or a wickiup, or a Wyoming cook-house, or a lean-to, and encounter an old reader looking for a subscription. We wish merely to point out that even in the summer, a little attention properly applied could be most productive, especially among friends who have the NM habit, but not the subscription.

Especially helpful in this effort have been a number of summer camps. Among them, we wish to thank the managements of Chesters' Zunbarg, Camp Unity, Beacon, Hilltop Lodge, Hotel Allaben, and Followers of the Trail. These resorts were hosts to NM speakers, and sent in both contributions and subs in substantial amounts.

WE HAVE been referring obliquely to our second West Coast Art Auction, but now that all the facts are in, we can pass on some information about it. Financially, the results were almost double the amount reached last year when the auction was introduced. Over 800 people visited the exhibition of pictures in the week prior to the auction. The exhibit-auction was so well received that it has become definitely established as an important cultural event. NEW MASSES wishes to thank all the artists who participated (they are far too numerous to mention by name here) and our many friends on the West Coast who helped make the affair so successful—particularly, our old friend Tiba Garlen, as well as Jean Lees, Virginia Brown, Clare Renn, and many others. Auctioneers included Stanley Prager, Jack Gilford, and Joe Foster of the NM staff. J. F.

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NEW MASSES

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Chinese farm scene, woodcut from an exhibition of Chinese war art.

BEHIND CHINA'S DEFEATS

By R. V. WILSON

On the military fronts of the world struggle against the German-Japanese forces the United Nations, with but one exception, are everywhere moving forward victoriously. Even in Assam, where the British rear is weakened by the existence of a subject India, the Japanese invaders are now being pressed back in defeat. The exception lies in China. On this battleground, during the past two months, there has been a series of not inconsiderable defeats in Honan and Hunan provinces. What is the explanation for these defeats? Were they unavoidable, or do they point toward the need for a recognition that serious mistakes have been committed and that a turn toward a new policy is imperatively required, if still graver consequences are not to follow?

It is noteworthy that an evaluation of the current military situation, presented in a Chinese Communist paper, emphasizes the gravity of China's plight. The article is entitled "Crisis After the Fall of Changsha." Previous Japanese drives, it points out, were characterized by a "piston strategy" of hitting deep into enemy terrain, but returning to original bases once the objective was attained. Present drives, however, are aimed at "annihilation of the Chungking field armies and the consolidation of vital communication lines." Under these conditions, it asserts, a "war of attrition" no longer has any validity in Chinese strategy. Earlier in the war "the trading of space for time" had some significance, but there is a limit to the territory that can be given up. Unless the watchword now becomes "resolute defense," there will be a further loss of fighting spirit and the crisis will deepen.

At Chungking the official spokesmen have fallen back on the old excuses, familiar from long repetition. Liang Han-chao, Information Minister, declares that China's armies cannot put up a successful fight because they lack adequate munitions and supplies. He couples this statement with a slanderous charge against the Chinese Communist forces, accusing them of failure to take part in the current struggle against the enemy. The soundness of Chungking's position must be questionable indeed if it is compelled to pass off the defeats recently suffered by means of unjustified charges against the armies which the central authorities have for years subjected to blockade, thereby preventing the dispatch of medical supplies as well as munitions to the front which is pinning down a major portion of the Japanese divisions in China. From the American correspondents at Yenan new and significant information is now appearing on the scope of the military activities of the Communist armies. The news blockade on this sector of the Chinese struggle has at last been broken.

Before considering these reports from the Communist-held fronts, it is necessary to examine more closely the reasons underlying the recent Honan and Hunan defeats. The Chinese supply problem is admittedly a difficult one, and it would be well if more American supplies could be sent in to China. Even with Myitkyina's fall, however, and the prospect of an early linking of the Ledo and Burma roads, the task of improving the equipment of China's armies will be a long one. Large supplies can only be delivered through a port on the south China coast, the winning of which is threatened by present Japanese operations. It is also true that the Japanese command has thrown larger forces than usual into the current offensives and is exhibiting greater determination to push through to its set objectives. These factors alone, however, are by no means

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adequate to account for the scope of the Japanese successes or the unusual weakness of the Chinese defense. The reasons lie much deeper and are far more complex, affecting the whole political, economic, and military set-up at Chungking.

For years now, beginning even before 1940 but proceeding since then at an accelerated pace, there has been a steady undermining of the bases on which alone an effective mobilization of Chinese resources for the war effort could take place. Control of the Kuomintang, and of the main government agencies, has moved inexorably into the hands of a narrow and increasingly reactionary set of leaders. Civil liberties have been curbed, freedom of the press restricted, democratic organizations outlawed, secret service organizations have multiplied, and the numbers of political prisoners have increased. The suppression of popular rights has restricted the enlisting of the full energies of the Chinese people in the struggle against the Japanese invader. The war, in a large part of China, is being conducted by a narrowly constituted dictatorship that fears for its own monopoly of power more than it fears the Japanese armies. In certain publications that have appeared recently a full-blown ideology of fascist connotations, anti-democratic and anti-foreign, has been expounded in detailed form as the proper end of Kuomintang policy.

On the economic front the progress of events has taken a similar course. Inflation has reached its present exaggerated proportions, not solely because of the objective factors of war and the blockade, but even more largely because the merchants, the landlords, and a considerable group of the higher officials in the bureaucracy are utilizing the existing conditions to amass lands and wealth. In the countryside the big landlords are becoming bigger, while the middle and poor landowners are losing their holdings. This process of land-grabbing is accelerated in the catastrophically afflicted famine regions of Honan and Kwangtung provinces, where millions of persons have been stricken during the past few weeks. Brazen *corvee* and other exactions by the military (in Honan the grain levies were increased during the second famine year) have intensified the pressure of the landlords on the rural masses and given rise to sporadic peasant revolts, notably in Kansu. Hoarding and speculation have diverted capital, materials, and manpower from investment in productive enterprise. The bureaucracy has monopolized the larger industrial undertakings, thus stifling the full and free development of private enterprise which is required by present Chinese conditions. The Chinese industrial cooperatives have been denied adequate capital and hounded by a politically motivated opposition which fears the democratic impulses to which the movement has given expression. Taken together, these factors have severely limited the industrial output vitally needed by soldiers and civilians. More than a year ago industrial production had already reached its peak; today, it is actually declining.

UNDER such political and economic conditions, it is hardly surprising that the military effectiveness of the Kuomintang armies should be gravely affected. On the major fronts, a species of military passivity has long gripped the Chinese high command. It has waited, almost fatalistically, for the Japanese to take the offensive before it is spurred into action. The heroic Chinese soldier has been forced to carry into battle the incubus of the inadequacies of his rear, the lack of a sound and thorough mobilization of home front resources. On many occasions he has performed superbly, in spite of all handicaps, but it is too much to expect him to sustain such a burden indefinitely. Where the handicaps are at least partially eliminated, as today in Yunnan and Burma, his achievements speak for themselves. And the stubborn fight conducted at Hengyang testifies once more to what the Chinese soldier can do. With a properly organized home front, the resources are available within China to enable the Chinese armies to cripple and throw back the Japanese offensives.

In the crisis which has now been reached, it is important to note that stirrings of unrest and opposition are beginning to show themselves within free China. The tight reactionary grip on the central government, represented by the very onerous C.C. party clique—Ho Ying-chin-H. H. Kung coalition—is a minority control that excludes important elements even of the top leadership, especially the more liberal factions. The coalition's strength rests on its control of the key political and economic centers of power, and by the fact that Chiang Kai-shek continues to lend it his support. Under the Chen brothers, the Kuomintang's party machine is closely linked with the landlords in the provincial localities; Ho Ying-chin, minister of military affairs, sits at the center of the military organization, though by no means in full control of many of the increasingly autonomous War Zone Areas; H. H. Kung, minister of finance, holds the purse strings. The great weakness of this coalition lies in its lack of mass support, only partially counteracted by the ruthless use of police terrorism, rice doles, and threat to job security.

Opposition has nevertheless been

"The fox shows good will to the devil"—Wang Ching-wei, Tojo's puppet, presents the map of China to Tojo, by Wang Yu-chun, 4th grade. From exhibition of war pictures by Chinese children.

Courtesy Museum of Modern Art

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growing steadily in the last year, stimulated by the intolerable conditions into which the people have been led. The great numbers of honest and hard-working elements, which have kept the wheels turning against heart-breaking obstacles, are losing their political passivity. Not inconsiderable forces, now being set in motion, are collected in the democratic camp. It holds the overwhelming majority of the students and professors, and of the lower and middle ranks of the bureaucracy. In the army it reaches up from the rank and file through many of the lower officers to several of the high commanders. The worker and peasant masses are on its side. Lack of effective leadership, only partly crystallized in the Democratic Federation, is the greatest weakness of the democratic movement in Kuomintang China, thus blunting its challenge to the ruling coalition.

YET the dominant clique at Chungking is today faced with an increasingly overt opposition to which it has recently been forced to make a series of concessions. Press restrictions have been somewhat relaxed, permitting more open discussion of the existing crisis in Chinese publications, as well as somewhat greater scope to the foreign correspondents' news dispatches. A group of Chinese professors has dared to publish a demand that heavy taxes be levied on the war profiteers to help balance the budget and curb inflation. Enforcement of the *habeas corpus* act was begun on August 1 by order of the central authorities. Sun Fo has delivered some rather critical speeches. Negotiations with the Chinese Communists had to be initiated, and some cracks have appeared in the blockade. A shipment of medical supplies has gone through to Yenan; while in addition to the foreign correspondents, three American military observers have been permitted to enter the Communist areas. At the moment these are symptoms of change rather than change itself, but their significance cannot be overlooked. It is for the growing pressure from below to transform these concessions into a full turn in policy. The symptoms are important, and could lead to a recasting of the Chungking government by Chiang Kai-shek and a reconstitution of the united front.

It still remains necessary to examine the current status of the Chinese Communists, the most powerful progressive force in China, in relation to the critical impasse that has been reached in Chinese

Courtesy ACA Gallery

"Class for Chinese Soldiers," woodcut from an exhibition of Chinese war art sponsored by China Aid Council and the American Committee for Chinese war orphans.

affairs. Kuomintang-Communist relations, which constitute the best gauge of China's political health, have for some years past reflected the growing crisis within China. For, above and beyond its other failings, the dominant clique at Chungking has capped its policy by the cardinal blunder of disrupting the united front. The consequences of this political line are felt in all phases of the war against Japan. An army of some 500,000 Chinese troops under General Hu Tsung-nan is stationed in the northwest, blockading the headquarters base of the Communist armies in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region. Although the tide of battle in Honan flowed to within a few miles of Hu Tsung-nan's territory, none of his divisions was sent to the aid of the neighboring Kuomintang armies striving to hold back the Japanese drive. He was content to sit on the sidelines enforcing his blockade against the Communist forces whom Liang Han-chao, the Information Minister at Chungking, was meanwhile charging with failure to launch "diversionary attacks" against the Japanese drive in Honan. Concentric lines of blockhouses strengthen the blockade, which has sought to prevent all trade or movement of personnel between the Border Region and the rest of China. Since 1939-40 the Chungking military authorities have refused to send the Eighth Route Army the funds and supplies originally guaranteed for its support. In 1940 Kuomintang forces treacherously attacked the New Fourth Army's headquarters unit, killed its vice-commander, Hsiang Ying, and placed its commander, Yeh Ting, under arrest. At this time, also, the National Army high command at Chungking "dissolved" the New Fourth Army and ceased to give it support. This army has since continued to carry on the struggle against the Japanese forces in the Yangtze valley on its own resources.

Note the situation of these Communist armies. They have no contacts with the outside world, such as those maintained by Chungking. They do not have Chennault's air force, or any other type of foreign aid. They are blockaded even within China. They cannot retire into free territories, trading "space for time." At their backs lie Hu Tsung-nan's rings of blockhouses and divisions of well-equipped troops. Their armies have had to grow painfully upon territories wrested from the Japanese, as Tito's did on areas wrung from the German forces of occupation. What reports of these armies come from the American correspondents who were unwillingly permitted to visit Yenan?

A DISPATCH to the New York *Herald Tribune*, published July 25, reveals that a total population of 86,000,000 now lives in fifteen anti-Japanese bases

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organized by the Communist-led forces. In North China, ranging from the Yellow River eastward to the Yellow Sea and from the Lunghai Railway northward to Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, some 50,000,000 people are living in these bases, with another 2,000,000 or more in the Border Region. The divisions of regulars operating in this huge region are units of the Eighth Route Army, which is additionally supported by hundreds of thousands of guerrillas and local militia. During the past year, as one phase of the Eighth Route Army's operations, approximately 13,000 Japanese blockhouses were attacked and captured. "All occupied large cities in North China," writes the correspondent, "such as Peiping, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Tsinan are under constant threat from the Eighth Route Army."

In central China, the New Fourth Army controls bases which straddle the lower Yangtze, Hwai, Han, and Yellow rivers, extending from eastern Chekiang province northward to the Lunghair Railway. These bases embrace considerable sections of Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Hupeh provinces, as well as parts of Honan and Chekiang. They contain a population of more than 30,000,000 (mistakenly given as 60,000,000 in the dispatch). The Japanese, states the writer, have been forced to garrison this region "with a minimum of nine and one-half divisions plus 130,000 puppet troops." More than 600,000 local militia cooperate with the New Fourth Army's regular divisions.

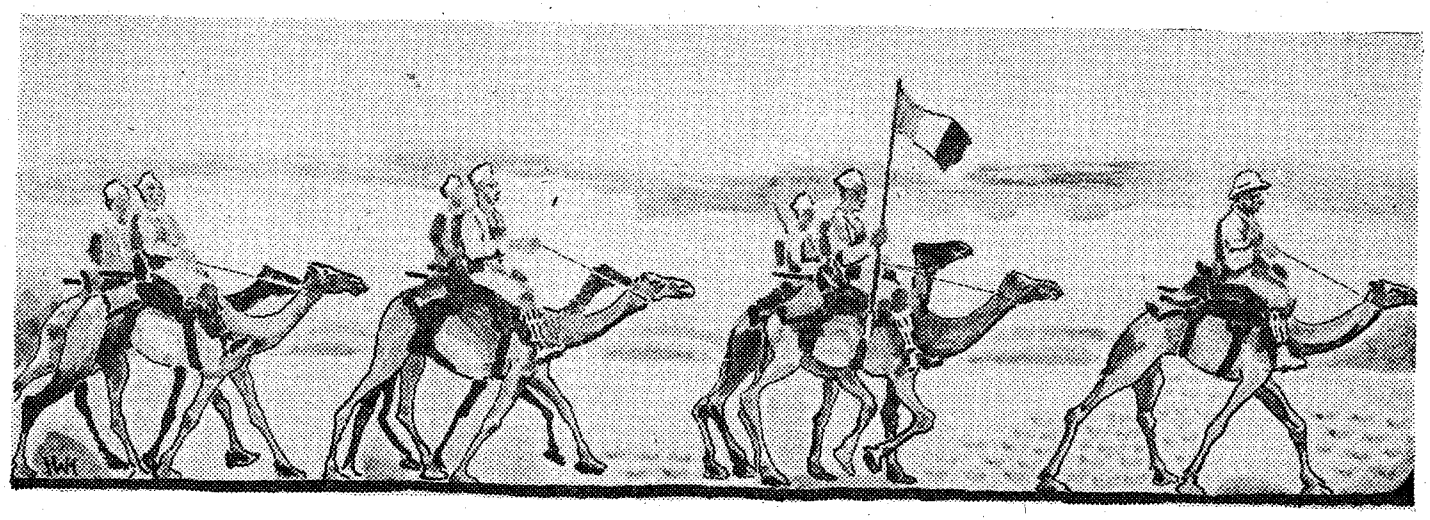
IN SOUTH China, the Communist leaders have built two anti-Japanese bases of considerable size, but of which little had previously been known. One of these embraces the whole core of Hainan Island, with more than 1,500,000 people under guerrilla jurisdiction. On the mainland opposite Hongkong another fairly large base contains about 1,000,000 people. The strategic position occupied by these bases will make them military assets of great value when the American forces start moving against China's southern coast.

These accomplishments in organization and military action were made possible by reliance on the energies of the people as released through democratic policies. The millions of Chinese living in the anti-Japanese bases have been doubly liberated. They are free of Japanese domination, and they are also free in the sense of possessing full democratic rights and minimum economic standards. In no other areas of China are these guarantees operative. Only in the guerrilla bases has that full popular mobilization been achieved which enables war to be conducted successfully despite the handicaps imposed by limited economic resources. Life is hard in the guerrilla areas, but the people's hands squeeze out the essential supplies which their armies need to continue *and expand* the struggle against the invader. In this basic democratic program lies the answer to the political, economic, and military problems of the rest of free China. Adoption of this program *in all free China* will build the bridge that will unify the country and raise the conduct of the war to the level that will mean victory.

It is along these lines that the Chinese Communist leaders have proposed a settlement with the Kuomintang in the negotiations now taking place. Based on the foreign correspondents' reports from Yenan, the proposals which the Communist party has laid before the Chinese central authorities may be summarized as follows:

1. That national unity be immediately strengthened by the reform of internal policies on the promised democratic basis, in response to the rising nationwide democratic movement.
2. That the people be given freedom of speech, assembly, and publication.
3. That the National Government give legal status to all anti-Japanese parties and groups.
4. That the National Government abolish noxious economic controls and eliminate speculation, monopoly, profiteering, and hoarding.
5. That the National Government encourage private industrial and commercial enterprise, develop agricultural production, and build an economic foundation to overcome the crisis of a war of resistance.
6. That the National Army's command be reformed, its discipline and fighting capacity improved by better treatment and education of the soldiers, and that the enemy attacks be resolutely opposed.
7. That the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army be given funds for medical supplies and help in improving its equipment.
8. That Yeh Ting, commander of the New Fourth Army, who is still a prisoner in Chungking, be released, together with captured officers, men, and Communist as well as other political prisoners.

These proposals constitute at once a critique of the actual conditions *now* prevailing in China and a thoroughgoing basis on which those conditions can be remedied. They point the way to desperately needed reforms that will reestablish unity in China, strengthen the conduct of the war in all its phases, and carry the nation to victory under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership.



In Memoriam: Felix Eboue, by Helen West Heller.

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PROMISE OF BRETTON WOODS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

This is the second of two articles on the Bretton Woods international monetary conference. The first appeared in our August 15 issue.

Washington.

IN THE Soviet Union some experiments in prolonging human life have shown that the cells can maintain life for an almost indefinite period, at least long enough to satisfy any decently modest desires for longevity. But the conditions under which the cells live can't exactly be laughed off. If the heart stops beating, that is that, and even a rejuvenated cell is out of luck.

Similarly, the processes making for decay within capitalism can be delayed under certain conditions. At least the possibility exists now, and if seized in time, such can be the case. What are the conditions? Various interdependent expressions of health: full production, full employment, a greatly expanded foreign trade, international commodity agreements under the aegis of governments, and the International Currency Stabilization Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development proposed at the recent Bretton Woods conference, and similar controls. Assuming further healthy political and social conditions, there is no reason why capitalist nations, participating with a socialist nation in consciously employing these controls, cannot expand their markets, rather than operate with their old vista of smaller and smaller markets.

Provided the various legislatures and parliaments of the United and associate Nations represented at Bretton Woods translate into realities the proposals of the conference, we will be trying something new. We will be giving private enterprise a chance to see how it gets along in civilized society, where tariff walls are not erected sky high and competitive currency depreciation employed, where, in a word, the forces of deflation are not used to bolster up an economy temporarily, with all its disastrous effects abroad. And if they are not to be used for temporary balance, it means a rise in living standards and consumer income will be essential.

There will be problems, of course, and all of them cannot be met in advance. There will be a raw materials crisis after the war, for instance, a crisis of oversupply, not of shortages. So what can be done in this period which we say must not restrict production, where international agreements cannot employ the old usages of cartels, with nations played one against another, production choked, prices artificially held up? The answer: you don't restrict—you produce according to *needs*. Chile long has supplied nitrates for use as fertilizers for many other countries. But during the war, when we needed them for explosives, we developed production of artificial nitrates, which we now get out of the air. Now ideally, countries producing nitrates would get together and agree on cutting down production in terms of world needs, working out quotas in terms of what else that nation had to supply in order to pay for goods being imported, and how expensive its production of nitrates was. Even if that isn't done, however, the very operation of the International Stabilization Fund and the Bank for Reconstruction and Development will hasten such agreement.

IN THE beginning Chile pays with gold for goods imported, say. But she can't do it forever. As her supplies of gold run low, her currency begins to deteriorate. Her balance of payments is off. It becomes of necessity a problem for the fund. This is the way it's done: Chile first asks for a six months' loan, which would be enough to tide her over a temporary depreciation in currency if she were increasing her productiveness of things the world wanted. But she still is concentrating on nitrates, say—the nitrate magnates stubbornly refusing to see they must develop something else. Another six months' loan is asked for and obtained, and another. Then, the bank calls Chile in, or Chile calls the nitrates boys in, or the nitrates boys in desperation themselves rush to the government, and with its backing, to the bank. What is the alternative? They're told they must reduce imports, expand exports. Chile has tremendous mineral resources. (Already they are prospecting for oil there, too.) So the boys borrow money from the bank, for which their government is held responsible, and begin developing mines. But in order to approve the loan the bank has to know something about the project. After all, private industry has been known to do visionary things, too, which end in fiascos, despite the theory only government "bureaucrats" are visionary. The bank will not make a loan unless the project is a sound money-maker, or something which is basic before industry can begin to make goods and profits, such as sewer systems and pure water, roads and transportation.

As can be seen by the situation of the Chile nitrates boys, who found themselves in such a chummy relationship with the world at large, the International Currency Stabilization Fund is located at a very sensitive point. It's a perfect indicator of trouble, and if a nation is stuffing itself with the products of others and leading a life of idleness, the fund will know it and show it just as unmistakably as a sphygmomanometer will record an obese and gluttonous gentleman's rising blood pressure.

Of course all this is possible—a world in which two nations don't get together and exploit a third, in its currency, its trade, et cetera, a world in which it isn't necessary for England to milk its colonies dry because it must do so to survive against the cut-throat competition of American industry—only on the assumption we're going to have an era of expanding world trade.

WE WILL have other competitive problems, in tin, rubber, oil, to name only a few. But if we resort to the old business of fighting it out, the lasting peace among nations envisioned at Teheran cannot be achieved. Instead, a series of international agreements to work out production is contemplated (an oil agreement between the United States and Britain, eventually to be open to other nations, was recently negotiated). That these agreements will be limited to producing nations only is clearly contradicted by the statement of Secretary of State Cordell Hull that eventually the oil conferences would include the consuming countries as well. This is of really exciting import, and it should reassure the chronic pessimists among our liberal friends, who regard the agreements reached at Teheran as being of military importance only and refuse steadfastly to see any possible good in the coming postwar period un-

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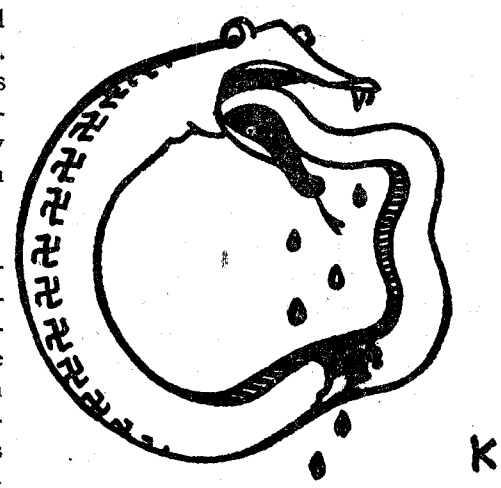
less we can unsaddle big business and wipe out monopolies root and branch. What they cannot seem to recognize is that international commodity agreements are not evil in themselves. They conceivably may be put to uses which are socially and economically sound.

THE fund and bank will provide machinery to facilitate these international agreements by their stabilizing effect. Some arrangement will have to be worked out concerning rubber, as an example. Now the old agreement between the British and the Dutch was one of the most shameful deals in international history. When it expired, the British said, oh, no, thank you just the same, but you can count us out. But during the war we have developed synthetic rubber production beyond the maximum amount we ever imported. Where the US was a prime consumer, we now need only a small percentage of natural rubber to mix with our synthetic. If an agreement on rubber is made, the nations will have to expand their markets. But the Dutch, English, and the US will have to include as parties to the agreement the USSR, which has been making synthetic rubber for ten to fifteen years, and Brazil, for the Dutch East Indies is no longer the exclusive source of rubber. Likewise in oil, the USSR, which has at least fifty-six percent of the world's oil reserves, will have to be brought into the picture.

The Dutch quinine deal was one of the dirtiest of all time. The quinine cartel allowed malaria sufferers of only certain countries, where exploitation was most profitable, to obtain any quinine. And the Germans forced us for years to prevent the development of atabrine, which is also valuable in treating malaria. But during the war we have developed atabrine with such success that we will now have to sit down with the Dutch, and the consuming nations, and consider ways and means of guaranteeing markets for both products.

With magnesium, formerly so rare, a similar situation exists. We get a large part of it from the ocean. In such items the question again is not how to restrict production, but how to adjust production to needs.

THE very existence of the fund and the bank would be a warning signal which reads, "No Shady Deals Here!" and "here" would take in most of the world, with more to come probably after the war. But it is not only private enterprise which in the past has negotiated shady, or at least stupid, deals. In July 1942, the US, United Kingdom, Argentina, and Australia entered into an agreement to limit wheat production for the duration of the war. Their intent was all right: they remembered the "dust bowl" in our west which followed the hectic production of wheat in the last world war, when land was used recklessly with no thought of planting vegetation which might tie the prairie earth down. But the result is extremely serious. The world stockpiles of wheat have reached new lows. Our own needs are considerable, and then there are the shrunken bellies of the children in the countries being liberated, which were not taken into consideration in 1942. There are also the vast needs of the USSR, great wheat producing nation which has just wrested away her wheat fields from the Nazis. If the USSR had been invited to take part in that conference in 1942 which limited wheat production, a different story might have been written, for obviously the Soviet Union would not have signed such an agreement.



Joseph Konzal

Another problem will be how to prevent any country from indulging an industry which is continuing production by high-cost methods. Under the fund and bank, a nation just won't be able to get away indefinitely with subsidizing an industry to continue uneconomical production of ores or oil or anything, just to compete with others who are able to provide plenty of the article at less cost, i.e., with more generous resources. For example, Bolivia has used up a lot of its tin resources to help the United States win the war. There is danger its tin mines may be exhausted. Shutting up the mines, rather than continuing mining with an increasingly low yield, would throw out of work Bolivia's tin miners, in a country where there is at present no other industry which could absorb them. But the bank could lend money to develop its oil resources—if the tin mine owners or some other industrialists show a little of the initiative and enterprise which can be released in this framework of stabilized money and firmer faith in markets. Or perhaps they will express the initiative that private industry has prized so long in other ways: a continental railway connecting with Brazil may appeal to them as a good way to help make over the Bolivian economy, or, as they might express it, a good way to realize on an investment.

The bank wouldn't care, whatever the terms they couch their project in, just so the committee studying the project or program (a majority of which must be from the bank's technical staff, with the country asking for the loan selecting one expert) "concludes that the loan would serve directly or indirectly to raise the productivity of the borrowing country and that the prospects are favorable to the servicing of the loan."

PLENTY of problems remain to be solved before nations will live together in an adult, civilized way. But plenty already have been ironed out in the spirit of give and take which Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau found so inspiring at Bretton Woods.

The Republican senators and representatives who were delegates at Bretton Woods, and Edward Eagle Brown, president of Chicago's First National Bank, came away enthusiastic. This wasn't because they got together ideologically with the experts from our Treasury and their suspect New Dealism, or with Lord Keynes and his irreverent attitude toward gold. For that matter, the Treasury's Harry White and Lord Keynes, who were built up by the press as being at sword's points with their two opposing plans (the plans were compromised, but the American was more nearly accepted), didn't agree ideologically on every point at the end of the twenty-one days. But they became fast friends. The point is that they all began working together for solutions and in the process made the discovery that the others were human beings. As they went on, the problems of Yugoslavia, China, or Uruguay became familiar and real. You can't remain "nationalist" or isolationist in such an atmosphere.

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MEN AROUND DEWEY

By SENDER GARLIN

WRITING to his paper a few weeks ago, the Albany correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal* reported that "Thomas E. Dewey is probably getting more free advice from more people than any other figure in public life." A quick comeback might be, "he needs it." But it would be closer to plain truth to suggest that much of the profuse advice is really not free at all, being paid for by the taxpayers of New York State in the form of lush salaries to Dewey's corps of assistants on the public payroll. Besides, there are a number of interested parties, long-time custodians of Republican policy, whose advice is based on an eager desire to put Tom Dewey and his family into that forty-eight-room house on Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

There are a lot of men around Dewey. Some take money, while others give it. Some give advice, while others take it. As for the latter group, one politico has observed with unconscious irony that they "take counsel with him (Dewey) and do his bidding."

It is the type of myopic industrialist recently polled by *Fortune* magazine who is most ardent for a Dewey victory. Replying to the question, *Who speaks your language best?* they voted 56.9 percent for Dewey, twenty-nine percent for Willkie, and 8.2 percent for Roosevelt. Thus, as Earl Browder observed in *The Worker*, "The zero (Dewey) is but the facade behind which is being mobilized gigantic forces of special interests determined to assert themselves over the national interest."

This category includes men like James Scott Kemper, new Dewey-sponsored chairman of the Republican Finance Committee. In addition to his other interests, Mr. Kemper is director of the City Bank and Trust Company of Chicago. Charles G. Dawes, director of the budget in the malodorous Harding administration and Vice President under Coolidge, is chairman of the board of this institution. In a speech before the Chicago Association of Commerce (as reported by the New York *Times* Jan. 9, 1941), Kemper praised the America First Committee and hailed its leader, Robert E. Wood, as "that distinguished retired officer of the Army, good citizen, and able businessman." Charles E. Coughlin's fascist *Social Justice* lauded Kemper for his isolationist views.

As for the postwar world, Kemper is a sanguine philosopher. He said in a recent address: "We cannot have both full employment and freedom. The only period in the history of our country when full employment was assured was during the time of slavery."

When Mr. Kemper took over as chairman of the Republican Finance Committee he was well aware that by his side would stand Joseph Newton Pew, Jr., of Philadelphia. The Pew family owns and controls a large part of the stock of the Sun Oil Company and its subsidiary, the Sun Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co. The Pews scorn boondoggling. Joe Pew's brother, J. Howard Pew, is head of the family, and hence has greater obligations to meet; but according to reliable sources he is being counted on to come through with some sizable contributions for Dewey's march on Washington. Pew, that is, J. Howard, is also a director of the Crucible Steel Co. of America and the Philadelphia National Bank, two most solvent institutions. Although burdened with these multi-pronged activities, J. Howard Pew found time to be a member of the executive committee of the ironically-named American Liberty League.

Like Herbert Hoover before him, Tom Dewey has strong grass-roots support in those financial circles which, in Robert Minor's phrase, favor a "negotiated defeat." The Pew family owns the *Farm Journal*, picked up in the summer of 1935, and *The Pathfinder*, largest weekly paper in the United States, which they bought in 1943. The Pews are generous to their friends. In 1936 they shelled out $20,000 to the anti-democratic American Liberty League. The same year they tossed $5,000 into the hat of the anti-Semitic Sentinels of the Republic and $4,600 in the direction of the pro-fascist Crusaders. Emil Hurja, editor of *The Pathfinder*, is a member of Herbert Hoover's Committee on Food for Small Democracies, a scheme for oblique aid to the Nazis by shipping food to Axis-occupied countries.

Tom and Herb

The quiet of Dewey's 486-acre farm at Pawling, N. Y., is in striking contrast to the noisy riveting at Pew's shipyards, but Lowell Thomas, news commentator on the Pew radio hour, also lives at Pawling. Between ploughing, seeding, and harvesting on his modest little farm (he paid $30,000 for it in 1939), Tom Dewey likes to chat or go horseback riding with Lowell Thomas and Mr. Hoover's friend and collaborator, Hugh Gibson, who also has a patch of green in Pawling.

ANOTHER man very much around Dewey is the Rochester, N. Y., publisher, Frank E. Gannett. Gannett owns twenty-one newspapers, most of them in New York State. He organized the reactionary National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government in 1937, but now the outfit is called the Committee for Constitutional Government. When he got the presidential bee in 1940, Mr. Gannett resigned from his Committee, but somehow he seemed to run it just the same. Vice chairman of Gannett's committee is Louis J. Taber, past master of the National Grange. Taber was a member of the America First Committee and resigned his post in the Grange rather than membership in the America First Committee when public pressure forced him to make a choice.

Just about the time the power trust was active propagandizing the country —via press and radio—against municipal ownership of water power (see Monograph 26, Temporary National

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"Le jour de gloire est arrive . . . ," by Edith Glaser.

Economic Committee), Mr. Gannett, seeking new papers to conquer, borrowed the sum of $2,781,158.30 from the International Paper and Power Co. In May 1929, the Federal Trade Commission brought out—through a cross-examination of Archibald R. Graustein, president of the company—that International Paper and Power owned some $10,000,000 of the securities of twelve of the Gannett newspapers. The lid off, Mr. Gannett hastened to repay the generous loan to the power trust. Oswald Garrison Villard, for a time a member of America First, offers the most charitable explanation of this Gannett-power trust deal by describing it, in his new book *The Disappearing Daily*, as an "indictment of [Gannett's] judgment." Mr. Gannett, you will recall, is the Sir Galahad of the free press who sought to suppress *Under Cover*. Gannett's upstate papers, though boasting an "independent" policy benevolently permitted them by their absentee owner, are, with amazing unanimity, plumping for Thomas E. Dewey.

ONE of Dewey's close advisers (and bosses) is Thomas J. Curran, Manhattan GOP chairman. One of Dewey's first political acts upon assuming the governorship was to appoint Curran to the juicy job of secretary of state which entails a minimum of labor and thus enables Mr. Curran to concentrate on his prime passion—the building of GOP fortunes in the state, and nationally. Curran, being a Catholic, is regarded as a requisite asset in the state administration. (Old-line politicians talk of Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish votes.) Since then Curran has been chosen GOP candidate for the Senate against Sen. Robert F. Wagner.

Edwin F. Jaeckle, state chairman of the New York Republican organization, is an enthusiastic Dewey fan. In fact, he is currently regarded as Dewey's unofficial campaign manager. Jaeckle has shown his ability to weld the state GOP into an effective political machine by putting over the youthful sixty-seven-year-old Hanley, a Perry, N. Y., lawyer-preacher-Chautauqua lecturer, as lieutenant governor last year. How deep is the love between Hanley and Dewey can be gleaned from the fact that the governor opposed Hanley's successful bid to become Senate majority leader in 1939.

Mr. Jaeckle is a partner in the law firm of Garono, Jaeckle, and Kelly of Buffalo, N. Y. Among their clients is the Marine Trust Co. of Buffalo, which is controlled by the Marine Midland Corp., of which Eustace Seligman of the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell is a director. Senior partner in the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, perhaps the richest and most powerful law firm in downtown New York, is John Foster Dulles, leading Wall Street lawyer. He is extremely close to Governor Dewey, is said to be the chief adviser, if not author, of most of his infrequent speeches on foreign policy, and is generally believed to be Dewey's choice for Secretary of State in the event of a Republican victory in November. Dulles is, in fact, Dewey's tutor in this field and recently was designated by the GOP standard-bearer as his representative in foreign policy discussions with Secretary Hull and Wendell Willkie. While Dewey's apparent claim to special insight into foreign affairs is his kinship with the late Admiral Dewey of "Remember the Maine" fame (the governor's father was a fourth cousin to the Admiral), Dulles can point to the fact that his grandfather was Secretary of State under Benjamin Harrison.

ONE of Dewey's most ardent backers is Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms. Mrs. Simms comes by her old-line Republicanism honestly. She is the daughter of the late Marcus ("Dollar Mark") Hanna, the Ohio GOP boss who managed William McKinley's kayo of William Jennings Bryan back in 1896. At eighteen she was her daddy's secretary. Mrs. Simms is a Republican national committeewoman from New Mexico. Her first husband was Medill McCormick, older brother of Col Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune*. Appropriately enough, she was a member of America First and is unquestionably still deeply wedded to its isolationist program. Her daughter, Mrs. Courtland J. Barnes of New York, was a heavy contributor to the America First crowd.

Like Tom Dewey, Mrs. Simms does a little farming on the side. She has a modest little millionaire place, the Poblanos Ranch, near Albuquerque, N. M., and also owns and manages the Trinidad Ranch in southern Colorado. This is a vast place, but it's home to Mrs. Simms. Deer, antelope, and even buffalo share the 240,000 acres with the Simms' blooded cattle. In 1940 Mrs. Simms left her rustic surroundings in the Southwest to become co-manager of the Dewey presidential campaign. After Dewey's defeat that year at the Republican convention, she returned to New Mexico, but in recent months has devoted most of her time to the current Dewey crusade. One of Dewey's "youth cabinet," Mrs. Simms is now sixty-four.

HERBERT BROWNELL, JR., Republican national chairman and for years a close associate of Dewey, is a lawyer by trade. But his other interests

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include directorships in a number of banks and corporations, including the Lawyers Trust Co. (Al Smith's bank), Twenty-Five Broadway Corp., Eastern Offices, Inc., West Bay Co., and others. He is secretary-treasurer of the Gibson Corp., and director of the Commonwealth Insurance Co., Fulton Trust Co., U.S. Trust, National Surety Co., and the City of New York Insurance Co. One of the partners in Brownell's law firm is Lucius Hart Beers. Mr. Beers was a sponsor of Merwin K. Hart's New York State Economic Council luncheon to Martin Dies on December 8, 1938. He also sponsored Hart's "pro-America Meeting" at Madison Square Garden, November 29, 1939, at which Dies was the featured orator. Hart, chief of the pro-fascist New York State Economic Council, was included in a denunciation by Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson as one of the leading enemies of American democracy.

A political writer who sought to butter up Mr. Brownell in the New York *Sun* following his election as GOP national chairman, explained that Dewey's pal was not a good mixer. "This may be due to the fact," the correspondent reports, "that he (Brownell) hasn't met many people from the wrong side of the tracks. He has always lived decidedly on the right side." The new fifteen-man GOP executive committee appointed by Brownell is shot through with defeatists and reactionaries, including Congressman Clarence Brown, who voted against lend-lease, for continuing the Dies committee, and for overriding President Roosevelt's veto on the Smith-Connally act. There is also Col. R. B. Creager of Texas, floor leader for Senator Taft at the 1940 convention, and an old crony of Hoover and McCormick; Barak T. Mattingly of St. Louis, noisy isolationist and sworn foe of labor; Rep. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, an opponent of draft extension and price control, and a pal of Hoover; and Harry Darby of Kansas, close friend of Alf Landon.

Werner W. Schroeder, new vice chairman of the Republican national committee, is generally regarded as the personal spokesman of Col. McCormick. Schroeder ran campaigns for C. Wayland Brooks, McCormick's mouthpiece in the US Senate, and for Stephen Day for Congressman-at-Large from Illinois. Chiefly responsible for delivering Wisconsin to Dewey in the primary campaign was Fred R. Zimmerman, favorite speaker at America First meetings. Whereas the law firm of Dewey's New York chief, Jaeckle, prepared the incorporation papers for the Nazi Bund of Buffalo, the governor's midwestern booster, Zimmerman, as Wisconsin secretary of state, granted articles of incorporation to the Gentile League, Inc., an avowedly anti-Semitic organization.

ONE of the merely platonic appointments of the Republicans was the naming, by Brownell, of Dr. C. B. Powell (not to be confused with Rev. A. Clayton Powell) as assistant director of publicity for the Republican national committee. National chairman Brownell announced Powell's appointment with a great deal of fanfare, explaining that his services would be "on a voluntary basis." Powell, a Negro, is publisher of the New York *Amsterdam News*. In 1936 and 1940 he served in a similar capacity for the Democratic Party. Harriet Beecher Stowe's chief character seems to have been a figure of irrepressible militancy compared with Dr. Powell, for he is on record as stating that he believes a Cabinet post is possible for a Negro in the event Dewey is elected—"if there is an efficient Negro qualified." It is evident that Powell himself has strong doubts on the subject.

Working cheek-by-jowl with Brownell in the Dewey campaign is GOP national committeeman J. Russell Sprague of Lawrence, L.I. Mr. Sprague has been a professional Republican politician for a great many years, and county leader of Nassau since 1931.

Mr. Sprague has been of great use in getting helpful contacts for the Re-

Poem for My Time

Across America is my loneliness.
Soldiers who are my brothers are gone.
In the cities I sense their absences.
I hear a song without a chorus.

In my time love is remembrances.
The perpetual is the shape departing.
The future is the sorrow hoping.
Loud is the silent longing.

In my time youth became the wisdom.
In my time age became the energy.
In my time dream became the weapon.
In my time death became the seed.

Tell me, Jefferson, what a key can keep free.
Tell me, Slave, what a chain can undo.
Tell me, Soldier, what a gun can pursue.
I hear the song. I hear the chorus.

The hand murdering to be loved,
the brain withering to be blossomed,
the mouth bleeding to be kissed
—I see, I see.

And the heart breaking to be whole again.
The voice muted to be heard again.
The lonely lost to be found again.
We sing the song. Together we sing the chorus.

LOLA PERGAMENT.

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publican state treasury. Some of the minor handouts to the GOP State Committee included $1,025 from the Crusaders and $1,000 from Pendleton Dudley, who helped DeWitt Wallace get his start with *Reader's Digest*, now engaged in feeding its readers predigested reaction. Sprague, along with Jaeckle, puts the okay on major appointments in the Dewey administration.

DEWEY's advisers on basic policy do not all sit in the executive offices at Albany. Some are found in newspaper publishers' offices in Chicago, in banking and law firms in New York, and on estates in Palo Alto, California. But his immediate staff has been invaluable in helping to create the current conception of Dewey as a model of efficiency and as an enemy of "bureaucracy" (read: Roosevelt administration). Closest to Dewey at Albany are Paul Lockwood, his secretary, at $12,000 a year plus an allowance of $2,400 "in lieu of expenses"; Charles D. Breitel, his counsel; James C. Hagerty, his press relations man, at $8,500 a year; John E. Burton, budget director ;and Elliot V. Bell, his closest confidant and adviser at $12,000 a year. Bell is banking superintendent. There is also Harold Keller, executive assistant to the governor at $8,500, and Louis Sherwin, research asistant, at $5,000. Keller, once a political writer on Hearst's New York *American*, is understood to be the author of numerous Dewey speeches and public papers.

Another Dewey adjutant is Hickman Powell, New York newspaperman, who is on the Budget Bureau payroll at the rate of fifty dollars per day when he works for the GOP presidential candidate. He specializes in glorifications of Dewey and "investigations" of Dewey's foes. *Collier's* recently carried a piece on Dewey by Powell which a friend of mine suggests should have been labeled "paid ad."

Breitel likes to regard himself as a liberal, which is okay with Dewey. From time to time, when Dewey finds an opportunity to veto a bill which he can characterize as "illiberal," Mr. Breitel pens a veto message for the governor which he fancies is in the authentic Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes tradition. But neither Dewey nor Breitel has given any slight hint of having developed a "liberal" interest in free ing Morris U. Schappes, anti-fascist college teacher, now confined in a state prison.

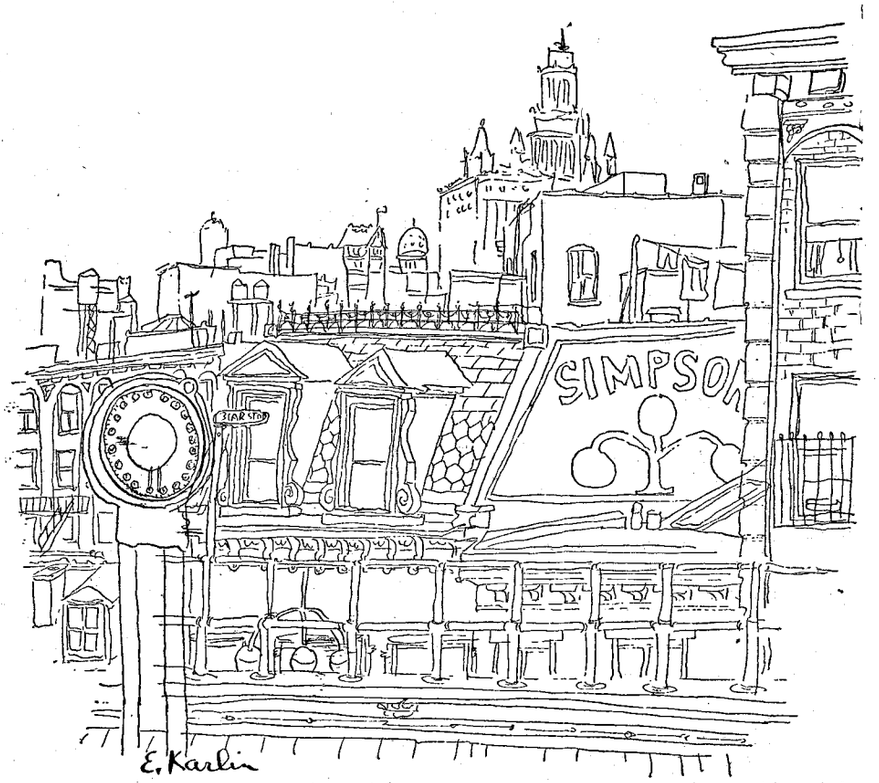
Paul Lockwood is a former *Brooklyn Eagle* sports writer turned lawyer. He is regarded as an able executive and an astute politician. Before he came to Albany he had charge of Dewey's office when the latter was district attorney of New York county. Lockwood, a big man physically, is informal and friendly—at least with those with whom he isn't too well acquainted. According to one news hound familiar with the flora and fauna of Albany, Lockwood is "a student of medieval food habits and an artist in modern eating."

Both Bell, the banking superintendent, and Hagerty, the press relations secretary, were formerly with the New York *Times*, the latter the *Times* Albany correspondent who once was publicly bawled out by Dewey for allegedly "misquoting" one of his speeches while he was running for governor. But the evidence seemed to show that Hagerty was in the clear. Hagerty is credited with having improved the governor's press relations immeasurably. Dewey's unpopularity with newsmen while he was district attorney of New York County was notorious.

Charles Van Devander, author of *The Big Bosses*, charged in a recent syndicated column that New York State taxpayers are coughing up $65,400 a year in salaries for Dewey's miscellaneous assistants who are now devoting their major time to working for Dewey, the GOP presidential candidate.

Announced for publication September 6 is Stanley Walker's *Dewey: American of This Century*, an attempt, judging from advance publicity, to provide Dewey with Adler elevator shoes, politcally speaking. Reports have it that this spontaneous biography was checked, chapter by chapter, by the candidate himself before being rushed to the printer. Despite the buildup Dewey has been getting from the anti-Roosevelt press, Rupert Hughes' biography of the great man, *Attorney for the People*, is evidently regarded as somewhat out of date. *Reader's Digest*, which in its February 1941 issue carried an article by Dewey urging that Hoover, Landon, and others be put in the US Senate for life, without election, will publish the Dewey biography in condensed form. "This, in a campaign, is unusual," exulted Hearst's New York *Sunday Mirror*, which advised that "the solid phalanx of opinion molders" are against FDR (and presumably for Dewey), "including the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, *Fortune*, and probably *Colliers*," adding that "*Pathfinder* and *Farm Journal* have long been anti." The latter two publications are owned by the Pews, ardent Dewey backers.

Kemper, Pew, Gannett, Dulles, Jaeckle, Lockwood,—these are the men around Dewey. They are a varied assortment, but all are agreed that America must be placed in receivership with Herbert Hoover as principal trustee.



Eugene Karlin

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TWO STEPS FORWARD, ONE BACK

EARL BROWDER reviews Eric Johnston's "America Unlimited"

ERIC JOHNSTON has become a national and international figure through his efforts as president of the US Chamber of Commerce to bring the thinking of his colleagues in the business world into closer relationship to the problems of the day. He has assailed many sacred dogmas of the "American plan" mentality in speeches made during the past two years, and attempted to outline a "people's capitalism" which would avoid the worst excesses of the past. He has now published a book which systematizes the ideas of his speeches and enlarges upon them.*

It must be said that if Mr. Johnston's speeches represented two steps forward in the thinking of American businessmen, then his book represents one step back. For it abounds in weasel phrases that were absent from his speeches, and which suck out much of the significance of his most forthright earlier utterances. One example will suffice. In 1943, Mr. Johnston declared bluntly in a speech to his fellow businessmen that "no American President will ever again permit American citizens to be unemployed. They will be employed by business or they will be employed by the government." But when he came to write his book he had already repented of these words. On page 144 he apologizes to his reactionary critics for the lapse, saying: "The phrase [full employment] is so glamorous that few of us have resisted the temptation to use it." Now he wants to "inject a realistic note," which turns out to be the old warning that "only prison and prison societies are able to provide full employment in the literal sense of the words" and that it cannot be achieved "without destroying the flexibility" of the capitalist system. Thus he opens the door for a complete retreat from every progressive idea which he has tentatively developed before. Full employment is the only goal which can be accepted as a basis for a program of national unity, and the only qualification that can be accepted by labor is the one originally made by Mr. Johnston, namely, that if private business fails to provide it, the gap must be filled by government employment; in that sense alone is it possible to modify the goal of "full employment" by speaking of it as "approximate." The "army of the unemployed" as an instrument of "capitalist flexibility" is unacceptable, and thinking along such lines can only lead back to unrestricted class struggle, not forward to national unity.

In the field of international relations also, Mr. Johnston allows himself to be entangled in fatal contradictions. Despite his warning that "the voice of America is listened to, but it is not a solo; it must be harmonized with the chorus of nations" (p. 221), Mr. Johnston significantly named his book *America Unlimited;* this is not merely a smart name, but accurately reflects his fundamental approach to the basic questions of international relations. He accepts no limitation whatever upon the role of the American businessman not only at home but equally abroad. To Wendell Willkie's slogan of "One World" he counterposes his own of "Many Worlds," which might not be so serious except that he expects for his "American world" a position "unlimited" by the existence of the many others.

Strangely enough, the full depth of this contradiction does not emerge in Mr. Johnston's dealings with Soviet-American relations, which involve the differences between a "socialist world" and a "capitalist world." It is in the field of Anglo-American relations, the problems of cooperation between the two great capitalist powers, that Mr. Johnston comes to his impasse. He protests at great length his desire for Anglo-American cooperation in the postwar world, but he reports how in his discussions in London he laid down conditions for this cooperation which, obviously, the British businessmen will not and cannot accept. He told the British businessmen that their American counterparts could not and would not make any lasting economic agreements with them; that the American "does not believe in irrevocably surrendered powers, whether political or economic"; that "he regards all powers, in government or in business, as subject to constant revision—by himself"; and that "what this American is in America he will also be in international affairs." What this means in the world of reality is that Mr. Johnston demanded that British capitalists subject themselves to the unlimited competition of American mass production in the world markets without assurance of any stable position. It is little wonder that Anglo-American economic rivalries flared up with renewed virulence after Mr. Johnston's "Mission to Britain."

Mr. Johnston's naive understanding of economic relationships is sufficiently illustrated by his all-inclusive definition of what is a capitalist: "The humblest worker in one of my electrical plants, the clerk of the bank in whose direction I take part, the salesman in my brick and lime business, is a capitalist no less than I am." For him all other trends in economic and political thought, whether New Deal, fascist, socialist, Communist, or what have you, are merely variations of a single trend of "stateism," to be equally abhorred, even though his own thesis is based upon the necessity of accepting as permanent much of the expanded role of government in economic matters which his colleagues have hitherto opposed to the bitter end. He seems entirely unconscious of the existence of any socialist thought except as Utopian doctrine, as "extremism," as "leftism," which probably accounts for his ludicrous and much-publicized characterization of American Communists before a hilarious Moscow audience recently.

Despite the sharp limitations of Mr. Johnston's thinking, as revealed in this book, it still must undoubtedly be evaluated as progressive in its trend. It is a laborious effort by an American businessman, more or less typical, to break out of the limitations of hidebound reactionary formulae and prejudices. It helps to break up the dry crust that for so long has smothered all creative social and economic thought in the American business world. It reveals that the harsh realities of the modern world are breaking through even into the circles that gather about candidate Dewey, and rob them of their old cocksureness and arrogant confidence. This book, even in its most fulsome reaffirmation of the unique American ideology of "free enterprise," abandoned by all other countries, represents a restless and urgent search for more effective solutions to the problems that press upon America and the world.

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* AMERICA UNLIMITED, *by Eric Johnston. Doubleday Doran. Cloth $2.50; paper $1.*

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THE SUPREME COURT TODAY

By LEONARD B. BOUDIN

This is the first of two articles on the Supreme Court. Mr. Boudin is a well-known labor attorney and is chairman of the labor law committee of the New York chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. He has contributed to the "Harvard Law Review," the "Illinois Law Review," the "National Lawyers Guild Review," the "New Republic" and other publications.

WE ARE witnessing today an attack upon the United States Supreme Court of a character unfamiliar at least to this generation. It is the attack of conservative forces who fear the progressive trend of the Court's decisions and who hope to arouse public opinion against that institution. They wail that the Court is rent by dissension and that it is constantly breaking precedent; they intimate that it has a radical flavor. This assault, like those upon our other democratic institutions, requires our study, for measures must be taken to meet it.

Actually, of course, the Court as now constituted is equal in legal scholarship and in understanding of social, economic, and political problems to any bench of its predecessors. Its members are experts in the art of government: three former Attorney Generals, Murphy, Stone, and Jackson; an ex-Solicitor General, Reed; Black from the Senate, Douglas from the Securities and Exchange Commission. It includes men like Frankfurter who have critically studied the court for a score of years and those like Stone who have carried on the liberal tradition in the face of ultra-conservative majorities. It is no wonder that the Court's opinions have a brilliance today that is unequalled in its history.

Even on their own ground the critics meet defeat. Their concern about the number of dissents misses the fact that dissents on the bench are of old vintage, being reported officially as long ago as 1794. They have an important function attested to by such great jurists as Story, White, and Moody. Former Chief Justice Hughes has eloquently said: "A dissent in a court of last resort is an appeal to the brooding spirit of the law, to the intelligence of a future day, when a later decision may possibly correct the error into which the dissenting judge believes the court to have been betrayed."

This disposes, too, of the second current criticism of the court: that it frequently breaks with precedent. In the *Lonnie E. Smith* case Justice Roberts said the court's decision "tends to bring adjudications of this tribunal into the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, good for this day and train only." This is a pretty *bon mot*, but little more. The Supreme Court and courts of an earlier day have always disregarded precedent which they believed erroneous. Roberts himself, under the shadow of the President's Court Reorganization Bill, switched his vote in 1937 on the minimum wage issue, thereby overruling earlier judicial law on the subject.

In wartime, few aspects of the court's work are as important as its attitude toward legislative and executive action related to the prosecution of the war. For the court has power far beyond the physical effects of its mandate. An institution constituting an integral section of our system of government, it wields a mighty influence over public opinion. The present Court has two significant achievements to its credit. It has recognized that the fateful character of the present war requires the exercise of emergency powers by the President and Congress. At the same time it has balanced this attitude with an effective concern for civil liberties. Its most significant war decision is *Ex parte Quirin* in which it unanimously held that seven Nazi saboteurs might be tried by a military commission. The Court's procedure there is illustrative of its high sense of responsibility and solidarity in a period of national emergency. Its members were summoned from their vacation recess to hear the arguments without the delays which might at the time have been injurious to national morale. The case was argued on July 29 and 30, 1943. It was decided on the following day. While "a majority of the full Court are not agreed on the appropriate grounds for decision," only one opinion was written.

Much the same approach was manifested in *Hirabayshi* vs. *US*, where the Court unanimously affirmed the petitioner's conviction of violating an act of Congress by disregarding a military curfew order and other restrictions issued by the military commander on the West Coast. These orders affected alien enemies and "all persons of Japanese ancestry residing or being within the limits of military area No. 1." The petitioner, an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, claimed that the law unlawfully discriminated against him. The Court in an opinion written by Chief Justice Stone upheld the government. He reviewed the details of the forbidding military picture existing shortly after Pearl Harbor, the dual citizenship sanctioned by Japanese law and the alleged non-assimilability of the Japanese. While asserting that "distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people," he held that the government, in the present case, might consider ancestry relevant because of "the danger of espionage and sabotage, in time of war and of threatened invasion."

The Court's concern with minority rights was manifested by the issuance of three concurring opinions by Justices Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge. Douglas emphasized the petitioner's right to have his loyalty tested through administrative procedures. Murphy placed a time limit upon the restrictions, *viz:* the period of actual emergency. Rutledge asserted the right of judicial review over military action.

An important civil liberty in wartime was protected by the Court in the *Kawato* case. There, it upheld the right of an alien Japanese worker, a resident here, to sue his employer in our courts for wages due him. Said Justice Black: "The policy of severity toward alien enemies was clearly impossible for a country whose life blood came from an immigrant stream."

The Court has made contributions of equal value in the general field of civil liberty, not directly related to war problems. In the well-known *Schneiderman* case, involving the California leader of the Communist Party, the government sought denaturalization on the theory that the naturalization decree had made an erroneous finding of Schneiderman's attachment to the Constitution. Regarding it as unnecessary to make a specific finding on the objectives of the Communist Party, Justice Murphy, speaking for the majority, pointed out that "A

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tenable conclusion . . . is that the Party in 1927 desired to achieve its purposes by peaceful and democratic means. . . ." Further, the Court asserted principles of the highest importance by holding *first*, that a decree of citizenship is entitled to very great weight, and *second*, that beliefs are personal and not matters of association.

The largest number of cases on a single subject during the last two terms have involved the activities of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The Court decided fifteen cases with three unanimous, eight majority, seven concurring and nine dissenting opinions defining the rights of this proselytizing group whose methods often amounted to harassment of their neighbors. The most interesting ones historically are the flag salute cases. It will be recalled that in the *Gobitis* case the Court in June 1940, with only Justice Stone dissenting, held valid a local board of education's rule that pupils salute the national flag daily as a condition of attending a free public school. In the *Barnette* case, three years later, a court of only slightly different composition came to the contrary conclusion. Speaking through Mr. Justice Jackson it said: ". . . censorship or suppression of opinion is tolerated by our Constitution only when the expression presents a clear and present danger of action of a kind the state is empowered to prevent and punish. . . ." "Those who begin coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard." Far more important practically are cases such as *Murdock* vs. *Pennsylvania* and *Martin* vs. *City of Struthers;* there a divided Court declared invalid city ordinances either absolutely forbidding the door-to-door distribution of leaflets or making it conditional upon securing a license.

THE work of the Court has been so extensive and varied that it is difficult to give a small but representative sampling. It has upheld the validity of the Emergency Price Control Act, an absolute necessity for the prosecution of the war. It has declared insurance companies subject to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the National Labor Relations Act. It has struck down labor injunctions issued in violation of the Norris-LaGuardia act or restricting the right of peaceful picketing. The unparalleled judicial success of the National Labor Relations Board since 1937 has been due in large part to the Court's declaration of the wide application of the Wagner Act and the broad powers given to the board. Last term the Court upheld the right of strikers to non-discriminatory reinstatement; it held it to be an employer's duty to execute a signed collective labor agreement; and it struck down collusive labor agreements. This year it held that individual agreements with employes were not a bar to collective bargaining with a certified union. In the *Virginia Electric and Power Co.* case, the Court ordered an employer to repay its employes dues checked off under a company union agreement. Only recently it held that the Hearst "newsboys" were entitled to the protection of the Wagner Act and that the use of the word "employes" in the Act required a broad construction.

The Court's record is not unspotted. Last term it materially impaired the rights of seamen by holding that a strike even in a safe port violated the mutiny laws. (This concerned a strike that occurred July 1938.) In another case, it permitted an employer to obscure the issues in an NLRB hearing with evidence of alleged employe misconduct. However, neither these nor certain other lamentable instances, can conceal the Court's substantial contribution to the enforcement of the Wagner Act.

More troubling is the recent decision in *Hartzel* vs. *US* where the Court reversed a conviction of violating the Espionage Act. The defendant wrote and circulated among army officers and others certain articles marked, as the Court found, by "calumny and invective," calling for an abandonment of our allies and urging the occupation of this country by foreign troops. The majority of the Court, including Black and Murphy, held that there was an absence of "specific intent or evil purpose" to cause insubordination or disloyalty in the armed forces or to obstruct recruiting. The minority's opinion, written by Reed, seems far sounder and more in keeping with the majority's own warning that "our enemies have developed psychological warfare to a high degree in an effort to cause unrest and disloyalty." One can only conclude that the Court dangerously leaned over backwards in what it intended as solicitude for civil liberties.

Enemies of the Court have attempted to cut it into radical and conservative wings. Actually, of course, the line of demarcation is not that precise. Every judge has joined virtually each of his colleagues at one time or another in dissent. This last term (1943-44) there were forty-four different variations of dissenters. Black, for example, was joined in dissent that term by every other justice; Frankfurter, by everyone but Rutledge. The most frequent dissenter is Roberts; during the last two terms he dissented sixty-eight times. This is not to suggest that dissents occur in every case, although this would not have been surprising in view of the select character of the cases accepted for decision by the Court. In the last two terms one hundred and fifty-two unanimous decisions were issued by the Court; in the one hundred and fifty-four remaining cases there were dissents by one or more members of the Court.

"Ten-Minute Break," by Cpl. Seymour Kameny

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NM SPOTLIGHT

DUMBARTON OAKS vs. ALBANY

By THE EDITORS

THERE is a lameness and hypocrisy about Mr. Dewey's plea for small nations that completely reveals the piddling size of the man and the brand of politics he plays. First, with resounding fanfare the Republican factotums announce that the issue of world organization and security cannot be a partisan affair but is the concern of the whole nation. Then they produce a foreign affairs plank which mocks this attitude and exposes what the men who run the Republican machine really have in mind. Whether it be Hoover or Colonel McCormick blowing fire through the editorial nostrils of the Chicago *Tribune*, the intent of the dominant group in the Republican Party is to make the United States the solar center of world politics with Uncle Sam wielding the big stick over the heads of other states. This is by and large the classical position of the Republican Party, the party of American imperialism. It began with McKinley and reached a high point under Hoover. It thwarted international collaboration among nations, large and small, and sought to divide the world in order to rule it. And the fact that that policy almost made us the pariah of the earth is now to be completely forgotten—or at least Dewey hopes that the country has so short a memory that it will not recall the attacks made on a world community of nations by a Senator Lodge or the Republican outbursts of temper against collective security, lend-lease, and a dozen other matters which spelled the difference between victory and defeat.

Mr. Dewey now charges that because the four leading Allies have the major responsibility for ordering the future of world security, such leadership would be tantamount to coercion and the "rankest form of imperialism." This is arrant nonsense and it becomes even greater nonsense in view of the fact that Dewey himself proposed in September 1943, such imperialist instruments as an exclusive Anglo-American alliance in opposition to a four-power understanding. And more, Dewey has on two occasions taken sly digs at the commitments which the President made at the Teheran meeting. At no time has he had a good word for Teheran whose fulfillment would impede the "rankest form of imperialism" espoused by so many of the eminent in his party's leadership.

And among these eminent is John Foster Dulles behind whose skirts Mr. Dewey is now hiding. This is characteristic Dewey acrobatics similar to his stunt of letting Governor Edge of New Jersey inform the country of how Dewey feels about international cooperation. Moral cowardice has had no better example than these Deweyisms. As for Dulles, all his pretensions to liberalism cannot hide the fact that since he is Dewey's close adviser on foreign affairs he too is responsible for the Republican candidate's outrageous statement of last week. It would hardly be far-fetched to assume that Dulles had more than a hand in its formulation. And the egregious cheek of both Dulles and his protege in Albany is that both men take the attitude that the government must account to them for what happens at the Dumbarton Oaks meeting. In typical partisan fashion they set themselves up as though they were an independent de facto state and executive department to whom Washington is responsible.

HAVING pulled a first-rate political boner with his stupid statement, Dewey attempted to get Wendell Willkie's support in order to make it appear that Willkie approves Dewey's position. But Willkie's frigid reply is indicative of how deep are the differences between them—differences which involve fundamental policy toward our Allies and postwar international organization. Willkie makes it clear that he was not consulted by Dewey when the latter prepared his statement with Dulles acting as amanuensis, but more important, he strongly implies that the "issue" of small nations is being used to endanger the success of the Georgetown meeting. Unlike Dewey, Willkie is willing to wait until the meeting is over before he enters into any public discussion. And although Willkie will have met with Dulles and given Dulles his opinion, it is more than apparent that this does not represent his endorsement of the Republican foreign policy plank or of Dewey's candidacy.

WHERE has Mr. Dewey been all these past months? Not only has he not been talking but quite obviously neither has he been reading. For any reading of the Moscow Agreement, the Connally Resolution, and the President's recent memorandum on a world organization shows that the rights of the smaller powers have been kept well in mind. The Moscow Agreement to which we are bound sets forth the "principles upon which the four governments agree that a broad system of international cooperation and security should be based. Provision is made for the inclusion of all other peace-loving nations, great and small, in this system." The Connally Resolution reads in part: "that the Senate recognizes the necessity of there being established at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security." And the President's memorandum of last June 15 made it clear that "the maintenance of peace and security must be the joint task of all peace-loving nations" and that he was "not thinking of a superstate with its own police force and other paraphernalia of coercive power."

These three quotations prove that Dewey is simply talking through his hat and that he has other motives separate from his tender solicitude for small nations. His outburst on the eve of the Allied meeting in Georgetown is in effect an act of sabotage. He bases his charges on "recent reports" and fails to identify the source of these rumors, although we are quite certain that their origin is in Mr. Dewey's head as well as in the heads of those around him who see that the President's forthright approach to the problems of world secur-

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ity will take a good many votes away from the Republican candidate. There can be no doubt that the yearning for a lasting peace is best expressed in Mr. Roosevelt's policies, while the ambiguities of the Republican position have shown that Dewey is utterly untrustworthy of steering America's future. So Dewey, who is unwilling to offend the Werner Schroeders and Colonel McCormicks and Herbert Hoovers, manufactures a "small nations issue"—an issue which is pretty safe and of the same category as the protection of widows and orphans.

In fact the best protection the small nations can have is an indestructible unity among the four great Allied powers. Without this unity the small powers become pawns of large ones in which the sole beneficiary is an aggressor such as Germany. Furthermore, it is the four powers who by their effective conduct of the war make possible the return of the small nations' independence and sovereignty and give them the opportunity to live again in dignity and peace. More than one naturalist has observed that squirrels cannot be expected to do the work of elephants and it is the great powers, because of their industrial and military resources as well as their democratic outlook, who must shoulder the burdens of an international system to safeguard the peace.

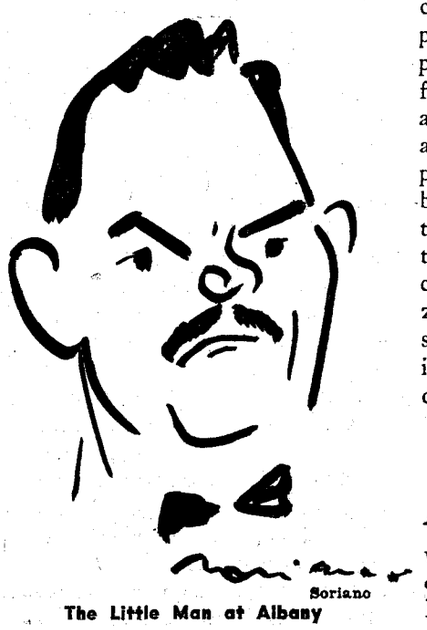
UNLIKE many newspapers which have been speculating high and handsome about the exact plans which the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR will submit at Dumbarton Oaks, we have not the faintest idea what these plans are. But it is obvious even from a cursory reading of the more reliable newspaper reports that while there are differences of opinion as to details, the common denominator of the thinking in London, Washington, and Moscow is that no security system can be sustained unless the major responsibilities are carried by them with the smaller nations playing a role adequate to their size and resources. Any other scheme is utopian. And in this connection what must be constantly borne in mind is that not only did the League of Nations fail because absent throughout its history was the United States, and for more than a decade the Soviet Union, but it failed also because of the fantastic requirement of unanimity which permitted veto by small powers acting in behalf of aggressor powers.

These are stern facts and they are more and more impressing themselves on the world's peace-loving peoples. The small nations are not being ignored. Their place will be as collaborators working on the principle that there is such a thing as leadership among equals. Judging from Secretary Hull's statements this principle will more or less guide the Dumbarton Oaks conference on which the world's eyes are focused. It is an historic meeting involving the future of many generations of Americans. And not even Mr. Dewey, for all his attempts, can thwart the overwhelming national desire to see it succeed.

The AFL and the Election

THERE is more than meets the eye in Governor Dewey's refusal to write a special Labor Day message requested by some officials in the American Federation of Labor. He also declined an invitation to address the AFL convention in New York state this week. In both instances, he was "too busy." That, at least, was the public reason. But what, many ask, are the real reasons?

Can they be the following? That the overwhelming majority of the AFL membership, as labor generally, stands four-square for Roosevelt, and therefore the open and covert Dewey supporters within AFL ranks find it hard to deliver the goods? Mr. Dewey would discover it pretty embarrassing to stand before rank-and-file labor judgment on the issues of this campaign: i.e., orderly reconversion premised upon an economy of abundance, genuine international collaboration based upon full understanding between the major Allies?



The Little Man at Albany

The trend of AFL labor toward Roosevelt is a definitely established fact: it is manifested by the recent actions of the Chicago AFL and elsewhere, most notably the New Jersey *Labor Herald*, the state body's official organ. In Chicago, the top body sent a letter of guidance to 1,000 affiliated local unions with the recommendation "that labor support the reelection of President Roosevelt so that we may not change our pitcher when we are winning the game." And the letter urged the affiliates to remember the many progressive social measures enacted under the present administration, measures "which have been demanded by labor for generations." The *Labor Herald* severely criticized AFL leaders for their *policy* of "political disarmament and labor division."

We believe these are among the reasons impelling President Green to the sensible proposal that the federation's seven million members vote this year; that they establish AFL political action committees on a state and local basis to guarantee that the vote is there on November 7. Mr. Green, however, clung to the AFL's old neutrality formula in his message. He makes the term "non-partisan" synonomous with neutrality. We trust that the current session of the Executive Council in Chicago will clarify his words. The CIO, too, is operating on a *non-partisan* basis, which did not prevent it from making itself sufficiently clear on its choice of the presidential candidates. It is backing President Roosevelt and his running mate with all the energy at its command, because they are the best candidates offered by *either* party. Non-partisanship is not synonymous with paralysis: it does not mean standing frozen on the sidelines and keeping mum about candidates. It means what labor and all democratic sections of our people expect it to mean—i.e., to choose the best man regardless of party label, and then go all-out for his election. We hope the AFL leaders will take that into consideration this week, for full mobilization of labor behind Roosevelt is essential for victory in November. Workingman's votes will be decisive in the decisive states.

Strikes and Wages

A CHARACTERISTIC of the commercial press (some ninety percent of which is engaged in the dangerous game of partisanship on behalf of Governor Dewey), is the outrageous manner in

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which strike news is presented. A stranger to America would feel, reading the average newspaper, that the entire land is embroiled in strikes, and that nobody is at his bench working on war production. It is pointless, especially to our readers, to cite the relatively small proportion of workers who have laid down tools at this crucial time of our nation's life. We know that. But even that small percentage is much more than too much. There is absolutely no excuse today for any worker, whatever his grievances, to try to settle them by halting production, even for a day, an hour, a minute. That way is to break faith with our brothers and fathers at the firing lines. And that is the principal consideration.

That there are just grievances, no honest observer will deny. The Little Steel formula still obtains whereas the conditions of life have altered; prices have crept up, wages have remained frozen. And that spells hardship. The strike is used to split the nation; to atomize the forces behind Roosevelt. Every strike is utilized as the basis for bludgeoning the coalition of labor, the administration, and the win-the-war segments of the country.

There is more than ample evidence that the blindly partisan adherents of the Dewey-Hoover camp welcome strikes and are not above fomenting them. The treacherous hand of John L. Lewis was not absent from the Philadelphia transit trouble; the four-day strike of 12,000 workers of the Electric Boat Co., at Groton, Conn. (which fortunately is ended as these lines are written), had sinister forces behind it. At Groton the workers were literally bludgeoned into the strike by a prominent Republican politician who heads the Marine Engineers Union, which is described as an "independent" organization that grew out of an indisputably company-union outfit. The workers had voted, in an NLRB-conducted poll, 6,344 to 1,717 against walking out. Yet the union head called the strike. But he found the going so tough, the opposition among the workers so strong, that he was obliged to call off the strike. But none of these underlying factors is ever indicated in the commercial press. The entire episode is used as a bludgeon against labor organization and simultaneously, as argument against the administration's labor policy.

The moral is this: first, no strike under any circumstances. Second, utilize the avenues afforded by political action and present statutes to overcome the indisputable hardships the workers feel as living costs inch higher; third, bring the bright light of publicity to play upon the anti-labor plans of the defeatists and the blindly partisan who welcome strikes for their own nefarious goals.

Gerard Howland

Re Civilian Goods

THEORETICALLY it should be possible within a few weeks to go out and buy a new vacuum cleaner or a new lawnmower or garbage can. Actually such items will continue to be either not available at all or in very limited quantities. The fourth and final reconversion order issued by War Production Board Chairman Donald M. Nelson permits the manufacture of a large number of civilian items which have for long been unobtainable, but only if—and it is a very formidable "if"—local labor, materials, and facilities are available which are not needed for war production or for the production of essential civilian articles. "For the time being," a statement by Mr. Nelson said, "it is not anticipated that any large increases in production of civilian goods will be possible."

Then why issue such an order? "To arrange the machinery," replies Mr. Nelson, "so that in the future, when military demands decline or change, the men, the facilities, and the materials which are set free can speedily be put to other uses." At a press conference he pointed out that the defeat of Germany will make it possible to increase civilian production thirty percent, bringing it up to the level of 1939. So the best way to speed civilian production is to speed victory.

The new order of course still represents reconversion planning on a limited level. It is to be hoped that the War Production Board is taking its cue from the Baruch-Hancock report, rather than from Congress, and is going ahead with serious planning for X-Day. But this does not relieve Congress of its responsibility. What Congress does or does not do about reconversion will make all the difference in the world, particularly in regard to the human factor. The principles of the Kilgore-Celler bill ought to be embraced by American businessmen no less than by American workers if we are to get across the economic no man's land from war to peacetime production safely.

Postwar Military Service

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S suggestion for study of a one-year government training program for youths in the postwar period, a program that would not necessarily be military, is evidently designed to stimulate public discussion. His press conference statement hardly accords with a report published in the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* that he was planning to ask Congress for early passage of legislation to establish universal peacetime military service. Doubtless there are those who would not be averse to making partisan capital out of this issue during the election campaign, particularly among parents of teen-age boys.

FDR has asked us to think over the question of postwar training for America's youth and what kind. There is certainly no need for an immediate decision. But it is not too soon to get clear as to the principles involved in universal military service. This country is entering into postwar commitments which will require the use of force on the part of the United Nations, especially the United States, Britain, the USSR, and China, to bar future aggressions and wars. A token military establishment such as we had in pre-war years will be wholly inadequate for this task. The peacetime alternative to a small volunteer army and navy is not the huge force that we must maintain at present, with most men between eighteen and thirty-eight drafted for an indefinite period, but universal service for limited duration for all young men in their late teens.

There is nothing inherently progressive or reactionary in universal conscription any more than there is in a tank. It all depends on the purposes for which it is used. The American people's traditional opposition to a peacetime draft grew out of a period when conscript armies were employed by European reaction as instruments of conquest abroad and tyranny at home. That attitude had been rendered obsolete even before the present war, for the real test, as NEW MASSES pointed

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out on other occasions, had become the character of the foreign policy which conscription would implement. Our experience with universal military service in this war has refuted those who, like Senator Wheeler and Norman Thomas, insisted that it would have the same anti-democratic results under the foreign policy of Roosevelt as under the foreign policy of Hitler. All the fears that our country would fall under the yoke of militarism have proved unfounded. On the contrary, the vast expansion of our military forces has made them more democratic, closer to the people. Let us once and for all bury the "militarism" bugaboo and welcome postwar military training for our youth as a school for democracy and one of the guarantees of the future.

Opening the Door

THE infamous undertakers who supply the cremating ovens of Poland received another warning this week that the Allied powers will not forget their evil deeds. The US and Britain notified the Hungarian government through the international Red Cross that they would make arrangements to take care of any Jews leaving Hungary who reached neutral or United Nations territories. The formal language in which the US State Department accepted the Hungarian government's offer to release the Jews contained a vigorous condemnation of the Nazi satellite for setting up the alternative of emigration or death and persecution. The official promise to set up temporary havens like the refugee camp at Oswego, N. Y., answers one of the major requests of the great Madison Square Park meeting where Jews of all persuasions gathered to protest the plight of the Hungarian Jews who were being shipped to death by the hundred thousands. It is to be hoped that this will mean the opening of the doors of Palestine to these temporary refugees.

While these concrete steps are being taken to forestall some of the savagery of the Nazi "New Order's" last acts, measures are being considered to guarantee that these evil chapters from the history of our times shall be closed forever. The Allied powers now convening under the quiet trees of Dumbarton Oaks in Georgetown will consider among other provisions for postwar world security an international Bill of Rights. The American Jewish Conference has presented to Under Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., a four-point declaration calling for full protection of life, liberty, freedom of worship, and civil rights, to be guaranteed "without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion" to be established "in law and in fact." In order that such important policy shall not be confined merely to words, the bill calls for the "establishment of appropriate and adequate international machinery to secure the enforcement of these rights."

Such proposals offer an excellent basis for international legal protection of minorities in the future. It is a pity, however, that the American Jewish Committee which cooperated with the American Jewish Conference in the Madison Square Park demonstration has felt called upon to present separate proposals for the protection of minorities to the Dumbarton Oaks conference. It has set up its own Committee on Peace Problems to study and draft measures for the rehabilitation of Jews and the restoration of their civic and economic rights. The American Jewish Conference represents more than sixty national Jewish organizations and has the support of great masses of Jews. The unity among all sections of American Jewry achieved at Madison Square needs to be continued and developed if real solutions to minority problems are to be reached in the postwar.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

THE WARSAW-PARIS SQUEEZE

THE speed of the Allied advance in France is such as to defy the best sprinter among weekly analysts. And so they fall back on general appraisals because their prophecies look like stale stuff by the time they appear.

The general appraisal of the German strategic situation is as follows: the Germans still occupy a space in Europe which looks even more ridiculous than their "Baltic sausage." It looks like something which is called a spheric triangle in geometry. The damned thing is almost 2,500 miles long between the North Cape and Cape Matapan (southern tip of Greece) and only 830 miles wide between the Allied vanguards on the Seine and Konev's vanguards on the Nida, west of Sandomir. It is precisely this narrow part containing the heart of Germany, Berlin, which is being squeezed between the maximum pressures of the battles of the Seine-Loire and the Vistula-Narev. Here lies the inner "redoubt" of the Fortress of Europe, encased between the Baltic, the North Sea, the Channel, the Rhine, the Alps, the Carpathians, the Vistula, the Narev, the Mazurian Lakes, and the Nieman. North of this "redoubt" the Scandinavian area juts out. South of it lies the Balkan area.

Germany hasn't enough trained manpower to defend this absurd position, which is a remnant of the days of Nazi "glory" and does not correspond to the possibilities of the Germany of today. Three years ago it had 24,000,000 available men in Europe. Today it hardly can scrape together one-fourth of that number, thanks to tremendous losses and to the defection, insurrection, and "cooling off" of Italy, France, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, etc.

Thus the answer to this military situation of *too much space and too few men* is obviously retrenchment, the manning of a 2,000-mile periphery instead of a 6,000-mile periphery—a retreat into the "Inner Fortress," or "redoubt." North of the "redoubt" it would mean a retreat southward from the North Cape to the Baltic line between the Kiel Canal and the mouth of the Nieman. South of the "redoubt" it would mean a retreat northward from the tip of Greece to a line running roughly from the southeastern corner of Switzerland to the southeastern bulge of the Carpathians. In the west it would mean abandoning France and even the "rocket bulge," and a retreat eastward to the Rhine, or, at best, an attempt to hold

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something akin to the front which existed in the summer of 1918. In the east it means standing pat and fighting to the death in one's tracks because there is no more space to retreat to. The Red Army has already broken into the "redoubt" in the Nieman and Upper Vistula sectors.

THE "spheric triangle" of Germany is being compressed along its lateral beam between Paris and Warsaw. Everything else is subsidiary and secondary to these two opposing pressures. The huge Battle of the Northern European Plain is on. It is developing between the sea in the north and the Alpine-Carpathian *massif* in the south. This is the beast's lair where the beast has to be killed. The lair is roughly 700 miles long from east to west and about 500 miles wide from north to south, an area of approximately 350,000 square miles. This is where the supreme decision lies: between the Vistula and the Rhine, between the Danube and the Baltic and North Seas. But the Germans do not have enough troops and weapons, especially planes, to hold the periphery of even this restricted "redoubt."

Divisions from Norway, France, Italy, Central Germany, and the Balkans have arrived to slow down the advance of the Red Army. In France our armored columns appear to be moving around at will and our invasion of Southern France cost us less than three hundred casualties during the first four or five days, while bringing us a bag of some 10,000 prisoners including two generals. This indicates that there may be five German armies in France, but armies hardly good enough to stop our forward march.

At this writing (August 20), the situation is approximately this: the Falaise-Argentan trap is finally shut on the tail end of the Seventh German Army, the bulk of which slipped out before Canadian and American troops were able to seal it. However, terrible blows by our airmen and artillerymen destroyed a great quantity of manpower and equipment which has not been counted yet. The remaining (escaped) part of the German Seventh Army is racing to the Seine between Paris and Le Havre and is attempting to get across over makeshift crossings, all bridges, according to reports, having been blown up by our aviation.

Latest reports have it that our paratroopers have seized bridgeheads on the east bank of the Seine downstream from Paris. It is hard to tell whether or not a tight new trap will be closed on the Seine, but it is definite that the river will act as a "sieve" which will catch most of the Germans' equipment and many of their men. In other words, the Seventh Army will cross the Seine as a shadow army hardly fit for any kind of combat.

General Patton's columns are reported to have reached the Seine above Paris, and to be forming in a semi-circle around Paris itself. With Orleans captured and the southern flank well protected against an unexpected blow from the south, Patton will probably strike due east, south of Paris, in the direction of Auxerre, Dijon, and the Swiss frontier, cutting France in half. Meanwhile the British and Canadians are advancing on the estuary of the Seine from the region of Caen and are reported in Cabourg. By the time this appears in print the Seine position will probably be nothing more than a memory for the Germans, who will be trying to establish at least a temporary line on the Somme.

DURING the first week of the invasion of Southern France by American and French troops (with a small admixture of British elements), a large beachhead was seized with very small losses. This beachhead now stretches from Toulon to Cannes and is reported fifty miles deep in some sectors. Toulon has been outflanked and advance elements of our troops are fast approaching Marseille. Aix has been captured and the Durance crossed.

It is most probable that Allied columns, preceded by the French Forces of the Interior, will push toward Lyon and Vichy, and within a week or two will link up with the northern Allied forces somewhere along the Nevers-Dijon line.

It is interesting to note that Allied forces landed on the Riviera approximately where Napoleon landed at the beginning of his second reign of "One Hundred Days," on March 1, 1815. Napoleon landed near Cap d'Antibes. On March 7 he was in Grenoble; on March 10—in Lyon, and on March 20—in Paris. It may be possible, too, that Allied troops, following the path of his *last* campaign, simultaneously may follow the route of his *first* campaign (the Campaign of Italy) by marching along the Corniche road from Nice into northern Italy.

From CIO-PAC pamphlet "Every Worker a Voter."

NEWS from the Eastern Front this past week was mixed—mostly good, but some bad. Let us begin with the bad. According to last reports the German Baltic Army Group, increasingly compressed from the east, has succeeded in punching a hole in the ring of encirclement near Riga and, under cover of the guns of German warships, has begun to slip out of the trap toward East Prussia. If this movement is not checked, it will change the situation on the approaches to East Prussia materially and may affect the Soviet positions between Bialystok and Warsaw. This development once more points up the criminal levity of the Polish exiles in London in ordering the Warsaw uprising prematurely. It was clear that the Red Army would not attack Warsaw until the situation in the Baltic was cleared up.

On the other hand the German "break" out of the Baltic (if it materializes) means that they consider their position in the north hopeless. This would presage the collapse of the whole Scandinavian structure, beginning with Finland. It is a moot question whether a German break out of the trap is not better than a protracted "Tobruk" stand in Estonia and Latvia.

The capture of Sandomir at the confluence of the San and Vistula greatly strengthens the Soviet bridgehead, which, as I indicated repeatedly before, appears now as the most important sector of the Battle of the Vistula. Three German divisions (or what was left of them) were trapped and annihilated north of Sandomir between August 17 and 20.

The intensity of the battles in the east are reflected in the daily Soviet communiques. These announce the destruction of a great number of tanks daily; there was one "300-tank day," followed by two "200-tank days."

The fierceness of the battles on the Soviet Front and the desperate stand of the Germans make possible our swift advance in France.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

By DOUGLAS MacMAHON

THE REAL PHILADELPHIA STORY

Mr. MacMahon is international secretary-treasurer of the Transport Workers Union of America (CIO). He supervised the TWU organizing campaign at the Philadelphia Transportation Co. and led the union's opposition to the recent traffic tie-up engineered in Philadelphia. His guest editorial was written as a comment on one that appeared in the August 15 issue of NEW MASSES *by E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the Philadelphia "Tribune," a Negro weekly.*

THERE was no "strike against the Negro" in Philadelphia. On this point I want to take issue with the guest editorial of E. Washington Rhodes. Mr. Rhodes started from the mistaken premise that the Philadelphia transportation tieup was a strike and therefore reached the disheartening and unfounded conclusion that ". . . the prejudices of the Philadelphia strikers against the Negro were more powerful than their love of country."

The nature of the Philadelphia events was clearly established by the 240 officers and shop stewards of Philadelphia Local 234 of the Transport Workers Union in the two meetings they held while the transit system was tied up. In a resolution adopted at their second meeting on Sunday, August 5, and sent to President Roosevelt, they stated: "Mr. President, let us assure you that the interruption of transportation service on the Philadelphia Transportation Company lines was not a strike. It was not a labor dispute. As the rank and file leaders intimately associated with the men and women of PTC, we can assure you that the vast majority of these workers are devoted, loyal, and understanding Americans. They did not want any part of this plot. The national and local leaders of our union condemned this work stoppage. We are unqualifiedly against strikes or other interruption of work in wartime. We are even more emphatic in our opposition to defiance of the policies and orders of our own government. Most PTC workers uphold the American principles and progressive policies of the Transport Workers Union and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, with which we are affiliated."

From the very beginning, my fellow-officers of the union, President Michael J. Quill and Vice President James J. Fitzsimon, as well as myself, charged that the paralysis of transportation in the Quaker City was the result of a conspiracy. That charge was later repeated by Attorney-General Francis Biddle and many of his subordinates. In the judgment of experienced observers, not more than ten percent of PTC employes would have taken any action to prevent the promotion of Negroes to uniformed jobs. There have been many expressions of the attitude of the white employes to prove that the vast majority of them were definitely against any such action.

ON MARCH 14, 1944, there was a collective bargaining election among PTC employes under the supervision of the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board. In the long campaign that preceded it, the company union succeeded in making "white supremacy" the main issue. The Transport Workers Union stood foursquare on the CIO policy of no discrimination and in favor of obeying government orders. The Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes-AFL was non-committal on the record, but its organizers campaigned against Negro promotion by word of mouth. The company-dominated PRT Employes' Union openly campaigned on a platform of "We'll keep the 'Niggers' off." The employes of the transportation division, who were the ones involved in the tie-up, voted in a separate unit with the following results:

Transport Workers Union.	2936
Amalgamated (AFL)	1109
PRT Employes Union...	1294
No Union	86

At the height of the anti-Negro agitation last fall and winter, the leaders of the company union, the Amalgamated and other anti-CIO groups, assisted by minor company officials and clerks, were able to get only 1,700 signatures expressing employes' refusal to work with Negroes, an action much milder than striking in wartime. At the mass membership meeting held in Philadelphia's Town Hall on June 30, attended by nearly 2,000 PTC workers who unanimously ratified their first TWU contract, an announcement that the company had agreed to comply with the War Manpower Commission order to upgrade Negroes, was greeted with loud applause. Then why was the Philadelphia Transportation tie-up unanimous?

Because it was an organized plot, engineered by people who were thoroughly familiar with the transit system and had effective control over the operation and over the personnel. The shop stewards' resolution to President Roosevelt stated: "We trust . . . that the investigation will begin with the role of the management of PTC in conceiving this conspiracy and in its execution. Unmistakable surface evidence points to collusion on the part of important company officials. The interruption of work would never have succeeded had not the management suddenly become extremely lenient towards the ring-leaders and devoid of any initiative in coping with the crisis. In many instances, company actions appeared to be designed to facilitate the extension of the walk-out or to make it impossible to end it."

The federal grand jury investigating the conspiracy, if it will resist the pressure that will no doubt be exerted to drop the probe, will undoubtedly uncover company agents among the authors and participants in the plot. There is no doubt that the company welcomed the tie-up. Had it been successful, the spurious strike would have seriously weakened and perhaps even destroyed the Transport Workers Union, which was bitterly fought by the company. The first contract has already brought PTC employes improvements totaling $3,000,000. When the TWU local consolidates in Philadelphia it will do even better by its members in the second contract and in the negotiations in the following years. PTC management, controlled by financial interests that are

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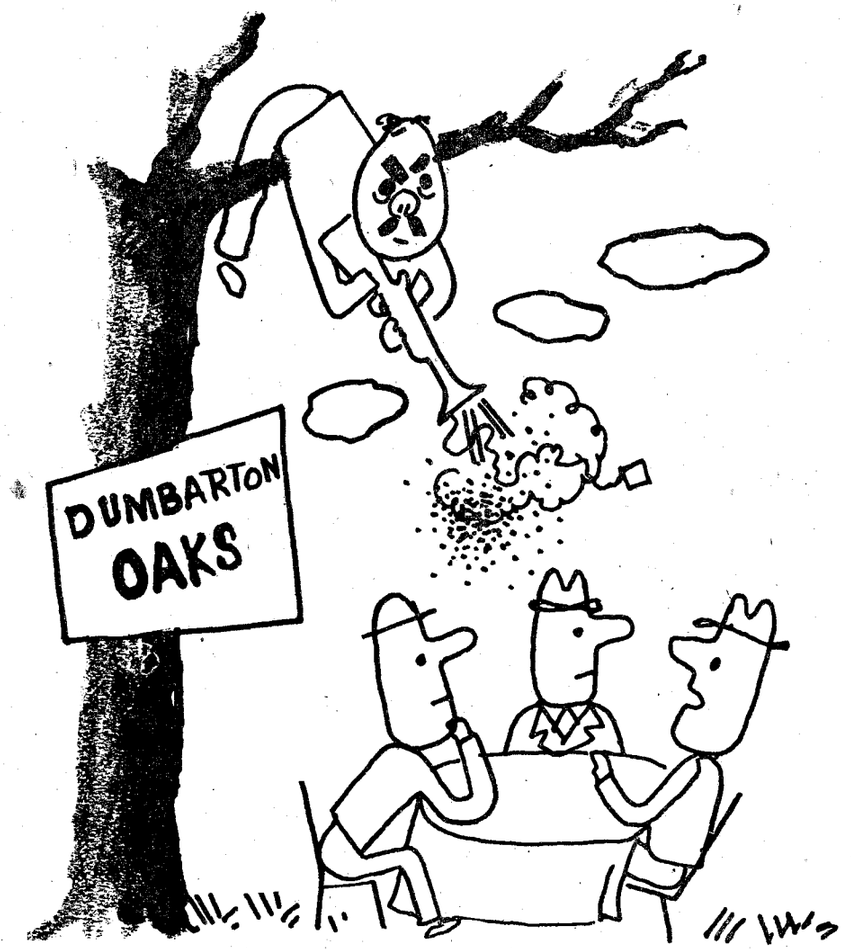

Mr. Dewey Finally Goes to War.

Jamison

the backbone of the most reactionary Republican forces, has shown every sign of a determination to get rid of the CIO.

Judge George A. Welsh, in charging the grand jury, told them to bear in mind that a "national election is impending." Judge Welsh has an intimate knowledge of PTC corporate structure and management and is more than a superficial student of Pennsylvania politics.

It could not have been an accident that the Republican governor of Pennsylvania, in the greatest emergency to hit his state, said and did nothing. The Republican mayor of Philadelphia did worse than nothing. He and his police commissioner behaved in such an inept manner that they actually encouraged the plotters. To the best of our knowledge, not a single prominent Republican made any statement condemning the walkout or urging the workers to return to their jobs. George Sokolsky and Westbrook Pegler, who are among the most ardent Dewey supporters in the press, actually condoned the transit tie-up. Pegler went so far as to justify use of the strike weapon by PTC management in its "war" against the Transport Workers Union.

DISUNITY is the keystone of Republican strategy this year. They are desperately trying to win over Negro voters in the northern and border states. At the same time they seek to strengthen their alliance with the southern Bourbons and are attempting to scare away from Roosevelt voters who have strong prejudices against Negroes and other minorities, with the propaganda that the administration favors *them* as against the white native Protestant majority. Had the provocation been successful and had race riots and disruption ensued in other cities, it would have been possible for those who parade as the party of Lincoln to paint Roosevelt as the enemy of the Negroes because these race riots occurred and to paint him as a "coddler" of Negroes for taking strong action to suppress these outbreaks. Of course, opposite propaganda tunes would be discreetly played in selected neighborhoods.

The possible role of enemy agents will no doubt receive the attention of the grand jury, but it is now known that the glee of the Nazis and the Japanese was instantaneous.

Some people who recognize that there was a conspiracy behind the Philadelphia transit tie-up find it difficult to understand why it was so effective if a majority of the workers were against it. This misunderstanding is due to a lack of information. Little mention was made in the press of the fact that every day thousands of employes reported for work but were turned away. Three attempts to resume operation had successful beginnings but were defeated because the power of the company and its company union agents to prevent resumption of service was greater than the efforts of the majority of the employes to return to work. When the Army took control and removed these barriers, the workers returned to their jobs even before the time set by Maj. Gen. Philip Hayes' order.

America averted a disaster in Philadelphia because the union, the people, and the government were alert to the nature of the events and took a firm stand in smashing the plot. It is important now that the authors of the conspiracy and everyone connected with it be uncovered and appropriately punished. What is even more important is for every patriotic organization and for all Americans of good will to draw the lessons from these events. We must learn means for solving more rapidly our racial problems. We must be prepared for similar provocatons that may be undertaken by enemy agents or by individuals who are so blinded by their partisanship and hatred of unions as to toy with national disaster.

The events in Philadelphia were unprecedented and therefore baffled many people. We must take the time and the trouble to understand them fully, because that struggle was a miniature of the larger world conflict in which America is leading progressive humanity to a period of lasting peace, economic security for all, and the realization of unlimited opportunities for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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READERS' FORUM

Bright on Foster on "Wilson"

TO NEW MASSES: Joseph Foster's sober and astute analysis of the motion picture *Wilson* [NEW MASSES, August 15] contrasts sharply with the attitude of *PM*, which has not only gone all-out for it in picture spreads and blurbs, but is now serializing the scenario. The difference in editorial points of view, or rather of emphasis, raises a provocative question. Foster says, correctly, that the weaknesses of the film flow from an ignoring of the imperialist character of World War I. Yet let us examine what would happen if these flaws were absent, and the picture fashioned to please the informed historian. Closing as it does with Wilson's defeat, there would be no opportunity for establishing and highlighting the vitally opposite natures of the two global wars; all that would be possible would be the statement of the democratic ideals of the 1914-18 conflict (which the picture does eloquently) with the real reasons for their betrayal at Versailles.

Now it is honorable to enquire if such complete candor would actually serve a healthy purpose today, if it would be beneficial to the present war effort in America. I am inclined to think not. On the contrary, I am sure the Patterson-McCormick press would welcome such a conscientious revelation and use it, in its shrewd, shameless manner, to cast aspersions upon the current death struggle with fascism, upon the Atlantic Charter and Teheran. It would admit the beauty of the ideals (in that snide way it sneers at Wallace) then underline their betrayal—drawing a parallel between Wilson and Roosevelt, with a triumphant conclusion that such disillusionment can only be avoided by tossing the "idealists" aside and electing Dewey.

For what the defeatists know cunningly is that their mass base is a compound of political ignorance—call it static historical thinking if you will—and a not indecent fear of being bilked again. And a movie of the public life of Woodrow Wilson plays to millions of people at this level of misunderstanding. *In the absence of an extension of the canvas to include an analysis of this war*, the practical effect of the Foster scenario would be disastrous; it would fortify cynicism and deepen the sort of phoney pacifism which is Colonel McCormick's trump card these crucial days.

No, the authors of *Wilson* are wise. Fifty million Americans can't be wrong. They *know* the ideals of Wilson and Roosevelt are worth fighting for. Let's not cripple their faith with reminders they were sold out once. And there isn't time to educate them up to Joseph Foster's high level. I am grateful such discussions are confined to the esoteric and enlightened pages of NEW MASSES. Movies for the masses face different problems.

JOHN BRIGHT.

Anent Mr. Hicks

TO NEW MASSES: Nonsense, NEW MASSES! Granville Hicks' review of Earl Browder's new book isn't nearly so surly as it is stupid. Actually, the review isn't surly at all—just pallid, defeated and self-justifying. Neither is the *New Republic's* publishing of the review "one of the most outrageous and palpably dishonest stunts" you have seen in a long time. At worst it is no more than another example of an unreliable and contradictory policy motivating the *New Republic*. But it was well within its rights to delegate the book to whom it chose. The NEW MASSES would not hesitate to hand a book—say, by Lawrence Dennis—to an unfriendly reviewer. When grounding its objection to the review on an indefensible point, NEW MASSES lays itself open to a counter-objection the same in category and equally valid. The *New Republic* cannot be attacked for committing the same act to further a different policy.

The legitimate and essential issue was raised by NM but got somewhat obscured in the fuss. That issue is, what actuates the *New Republic* policy? Granville Hicks himself can be conveniently forgotten here—the bed he lies in is quite uncomfortable enough. The larger trouble stems from the contradictory position attempted by a considerable section of the old-line liberals and their journals of opinions. They support the Teheran concord, but they can't stomach some of its implications. One of these is the acceptance of Mr. Browder into the general democratic fold. But these uncertain liberals are pinned unhappily at a junction of pressures, the nearly-irresistible force of Teheran against the perhaps-immovable body of anti-Communist policy. When Mr. Browder supports Teheran and they support Teheran, but oppose Mr. Browder, what do you get? The *New Republic*, of course. But one can't have both answers, anti-Browder and pro-Teheran. One answer must eventually negate the other. If the choice of Mr. Hicks to evaluate Mr. Browder's book was politically motivated, then the *New Republic* is moving toward its negation: the anti-Communist policy is really an immovable body and the Teheran prospect is only a nearly-irresistible force.

However, the selection of Mr. Hicks is not yet conclusive evidence of a settled and total policy. Mr. Hicks, in fact, does not like *any* picture he can foresee under the Teheran aegis. This position does not correspond exactly to the *New Republic's*. Also, part of the liberal ideology of free press maintains that a writer may express opinions contrary to general policy, possibly contrary to the best judgments on national welfare. It would be considered allowable for a signed writer to take an unrepresentative position. So the argument returns to the point whether the *New Republic* chose the reviewer to represent its position or gave him a free hand. If the latter is true, Mr. Hicks alone is responsible. If he expresses the magazine policy on Mr. Browder's summation of Teheran's meaning, then the issue is raised to first rate importance and the contradiction to a positive pro-Teheran policy is clearly seen. At this point the *New Republic* liberals must face a painful problem. They must join in the Teheran spirit and whittle down their Communist prejudice to the point where it is no longer an obstructive body, or they must concede to their prejudice and hinder the attempt at progressive unity against reactionary forces. If they cannot decide which position shall dominate, their own influence in liberalism will shrink to nothing. In a living world, immutable stasis in contradiction is impossible. Irresistible forces and immovable bodies are fictions invented for playing with dead ends.

The *New Republic* is one of the mirrors reflecting this struggle of opposites now taking place. Excited journalism making premature accusations won't help. The NEW MASSES should work to dissolve on reasonable grounds as much of the dangerous anti-Communist prejudice as possible rather than agitate second-rate issues with the cry of "literary sabotage."

San Francisco. PETER OWENS.

Have you a special point? A pet peeve? Write us about it. "New Masses" welcomes letters from its readers.

More Franklin, Please

TO NEW MASSES: Please accept my compliments on Francis Franklin's pair of articles on our Calvinist heritage [NEW MASSES, August 8 and 15]. It is evidence of the growing maturity of our movement that such essays should appear; we ought to have more like them.

As any good writing will, this contribution raises some questions in the process of answering others. I am unable to trace, for instance, the relationship between the "brilliant dialectical thinking" of John Quincy Adams about slavery, and his position as an

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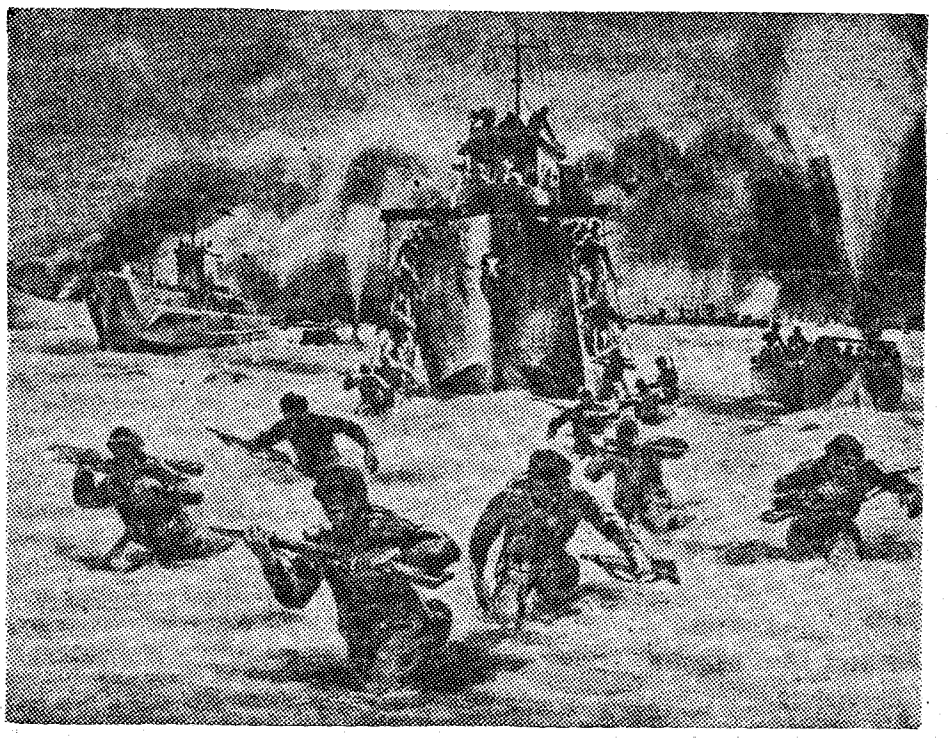

"Attack on Sicily," by Lt. Mitchell Jamieson. From the Penguin "GI Sketch Book."

Independent Calvinist. Nor is it plain to me just how this made him highly representative of his countrymen— despite the discussion in Part II. Mr. Franklin's point here, I believe, is not tied together well enough.

Then there is the matter of the businessmen. The angry Calvinist God, we are told, could have appealed to no one but "the wealthiest among the bourgeoisie." Now, I suggest that some qualification is called for. The statement is too broad, sliding over distinctions of time and place much too easily. Surely Mr. Franklin knows that the gentlemen referred to were not all Calvinists. In New York and the southern states they were Episcopalian in great degree. And by the time the Revolution was over, Unitarianism was well on its way in their ranks. Incidentally, neither of Mr. Franklin's essays mentions that respectable escape for businessmen who disliked blood and thunder sermons.

Could Mr. Franklin write another piece examining these and the other points his other readers will doubtless bring up?

STANLEY ARCHER.

Jury of Nations

TO NEW MASSES: The common law carries presumptions in regard to men. These presumptions confer upon men their first and basic civil rights, both legal and equitable. Among these presumptions are those of capacity, innocence (in the criminal law) and no waiver of fundamental constitutional rights. It is evident that each of these presumptions not only endows men with civil rights, but also presumes certain virtues in men. Thus, capacity presumes the virtue of intelligence. The no-waiver presumption presumes the public-spirited citizen. Twelve men taken together can form a jury, and, when they do, they raise the presumption extended a jury—that a jury is a prudent administrator. The prudent administration presumption presumes wisdom—not that wisdom exists in each of the twelve minds—but that wisdom will result in the meeting of twelve divergent minds.

Why not have the international body which in all probability will be created after the cessation of hostilities apply these presumptions, which heretofore have been applied only to men, to nations? The presumption of capacity, if adopted by international law for nations, would mean that every nation is a semi-sovereign, subject only to international good citizenship as guaranteed and enforced by the international body. This would mean the abolition of imperialism (which is nothing but slavery applied to nations), one of the principal causes of war. The presumption of innocence, if adopted by international law formations, would enforce orderly conduct on the part of the international body toward that nation or those nations deemed recalcitrant by another or other nations and would insure the accused a fair trial. The no-waiver presumption, if adopted by international law for nations, would not only extend to every nation the full use of the justiciable machinery of the international body but also expect every nation to make use of such machinery to the utmost.

The international body and the semi-sovereign states would comprise a world federation (a federal system on a world-wide scale). The federation would operate under an international constitution embracing the cardinal doctrines of international law, the three above-mentioned presumptions, and a selection of leading principles as announced in the various existing national constitutions.

Then, truly, the no-waiver presumption—that is, no waiver of fundamental *constitutional rights*—could be expressly adopted in toto by international law for nations. And to insure the general or central government of the world federal system sufficient authority, the presumption heretofore extended only to the judgments of courts could be applied to the decisions of such government—that a judgment (of such government) carries with it the presumption of regularity.

HOWARD NEWCOMB MORSE.
University of Chicago Law School.

Defending the Nisei

TO NEW MASSES: Your remarks introducing the article by Carey McWilliams entitled "Plight of the Nisei" in the August 8 issue of NEW MASSES surprised me for two reasons. First, the use of the phrase "Japanese citizens and aliens" to describe residents of Japanese ancestry in this country. These people are either American citizens or aliens. I think you will agree that your reverse phrasing is ambiguous.

My greatest surprise came at your stating you believe the evacuation of these people was a necessary war measure. That the evacuation of aliens (Japanese citizens) was necessary admits of some argument, but when you apparently (your phraseology raises some doubt) include American citizens in this category, you seem, in my opinion, to be forwarding a very dangerous argument. The same argument would justify the Hitlerite "re-location" of Russian, French, Belgian, Dutch, and other citizens from their homes without a trial or a hearing. From the standpoint of military security it would seem to me safer to evacuate American citizens who forced this re-location of American citizens of Japanese ancestry. If California is, or was, ever in danger, it is due to the presence of these disrupters of international cooperation and unity.

GEORGE C. BARTTER.
Dover, Mass.

For Library Users

TO NEW MASSES: Much positive action can grow out of Henry Black's recent article, "Guide to Magazine Readers" [NEW MASSES, August 15] if users of libraries everywhere will call the attention of librarians to progressive materials. Many are simply unacquainted with the content of *Amerasia*, *New Currents*, NEW MASSES, and scores of other win-the-war and win-the-peace periodicals.

The H. W. Wilson Co. usually submits a questionnaire to librarians who subscribe to its services. It is they who vote on the inclusion of specific magazines for its various indexes. If you can bring organs of trade unions, minority groups, or progressive sentiments generally to the attention of librarians they may come to understand their value and place and choose to give them representation when a new questionnaire is circulated.

CLARA OSTROWSKY.
Librarian, Jefferson School of Social Science.
New York.

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RICHARD WRIGHT IN RETREAT

By SAMUEL SILLEN

In 1937, three years before the sensational success of *Native Son*, Richard Wright published a "Blueprint for Negro Writing" which defined his aspiration as an artist. Then a relatively obscure author, his powerful though as yet immature work appreciated only in the left press, Wright denounced the sterile, embittered defeatism into which too many gifted writers have been too easily misled. His own creative goal was to end the isolation and mistrust among Negro writers themselves as well as between Negro and white writers, and he pleaded for "unity with all the progressive ideas of our day, the primary prerequisite for collective work."

Wright emphasized that to achieve this progressive unity, to arrive at a "thorough integration with the American scene," the novelist needs a sound historical perspective, for "anyone destitute of a theory about the meaning, structure, and direction of modern society is a lost victim in a world he cannot understand or control." The 1937 "Blueprint" continues: "Hence, it is through a Marxist conception of reality and society that the maximum degree of freedom in thought and feeling can be gained for the Negro writer. Further, this dramatic Marxist vision, when consciously grasped, endows the writer with a sense of dignity which no other vision can give. Ultimately, it restores to the writer his lost heritage, that is, his role as a creator of the world in which he lives, and as a creator of himself."

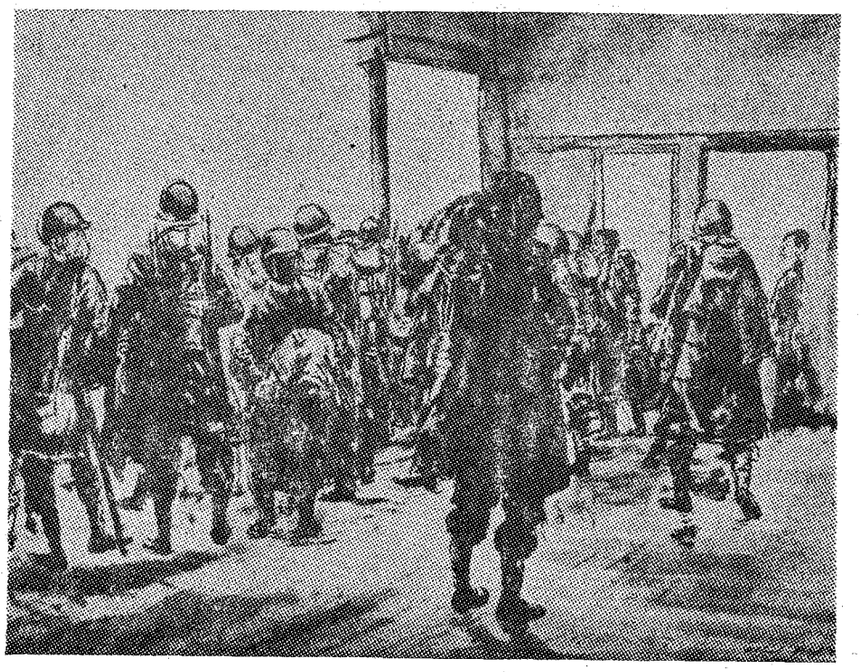
These are fine words. They would appear to express the conviction of a young writer who has grasped the meaning of Gorky and Barbusse. By such words, when deeply felt and understood, a man erects an enduring standard by which he may measure his growth or decline, his victories or defeats, his resistance or submission to confusing and corrupting influences.

These words judge the Richard Wright of today. They judge him pitilessly, whether he express himself in an *Atlantic Monthly* article, a New York *Herald Tribune* interview, or a novelette in the anthology *Cross-Section*.

For he has stopped pleading for "unity with all the progressive ideas of our day"; he has begun to denounce that unity. Far from shunning isolation, he nurses it fiercely. Instead of slashing away at defeatism, he embraces defeatism. Not "vision" but blindness he now exalts.

His article in the *Atlantic Monthly* (August 1944) is revealing not for its wearisome details about the Chicago John Reed Club of 1934, but for its crippled spirit and perspective. It is as if he were writing a novel about a man who, having repudiated his most cherished beliefs, strives feverishly to refashion the truths of his own life in a distorted and destructive image. It therefore reveals more of his character today than of what he once was. Is it possible that the Richard Wright of 1934 would also have contributed his portion to the poison well of anti-Semitic imagery? Is it possible that the young Chicagoan would have stooped to this macabre and sinister atmosphere so drenched in self-righteous egoism, so clogged with Valtinesque stereotypes of the victim struggling "naively" against Communist "persecution"? It is saddening enough to find him doing these things now.

Reminiscing monotonously under the title "I Tried To Be a Communist," Wright seeks to dramatize the issue as if it were between himself and the Communists. But the issue is far wider than that. It is only of secondary importance that Wright chooses, at this moment, to advertise that he was never really a Communist, that he merely "tried to be" one but remained unsullied. The deeper fact is that Wright is dissociating himself from the large progressive movements of which the Communists are only a part. The real calamity is that he betrays in his recent pronouncements, whether in fiction or non-fiction, a curious remoteness from the democratic upsurge of both the Negro and white masses today.



"On the Ferry to the Transport," by Albert Gold. From the new Penguin "G.I. Sketch Book," edited by Aimee Crane. This little volume, which is well worth the twenty-five cents its costs, gives an excellent soldiers' eye view of the war.

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When Wright complains to the New York *Herald Tribune* of the Communists' "lamentable regression" on the American Negro question, he may be supposed to have some alternative policy in mind. What, one wonders, is his alternative to Earl Browder's contention, reiterated in his latest book *Teheran*, that a program of national unity, vital for victory over fascism, today "demands the abolition of Jim Crow, and the securing for Negro Americans that unconditional equal citizenship guaranteed by the Constitution"? Or to Browder's warning that America cannot realize her potential role of democratic leadership "while she continues to carry the burden of the South's 'white supremacy' doctrine with all its consequences of Jim Crow, poll tax—and, above all, with the predominance in Congress, in the army, and in our diplomatic service, of men who are rabid exponents of this doctrine in theory and practice"?

In attacking such "lamentable retrogression" of policy as these words express, Wright links himself with the really retrogressive forces in American life today. The alternative to the support of Roosevelt is the support of reaction. Opposition to the national unity and victory program for which the Communists fight, together with all other democratic elements in American life, pleases only those who have consistently obstructed the path to full freedom and equality.

ONLY a man who had cut himself off from the life of the masses could have arrived at so destructive a position. And Wright's most recent piece of fiction tells us more in this respect than a volume of newspaper interviews. For despite its characteristic strength of imagination and style, "The Man Who Lived Underground" has a quality so despairing and remote, it is filled with such bitter futility, that the author can hardly have identified himself creatively with the great struggles of his people and his time. Wright is here obsessed with a Negro who sees life through the walls of a sewer, who regards with contempt the people who live in the sun. He breaks into a bank and a jewelry shop and then lines his sewer wall with fresh dollar bills and sprinkles his floor with gems whose glamor is described ecstatically. In the sewer he lives and there he dies, his whole existence quite without meaning or hope. Intended, presumably, as a parable on American life, this story illuminates subjective states far more than it does objective reality. To compare the mood of this story with that of "Bright and Morning Star," to measure it against the political awareness and drive of the Negro people, is to discover how many ages separate the Richard Wright of today from the young man who wrote that "anyone destitute of a theory about the meaning, structure and direction of modern society is a lost victim in a world he cannot understand or control."

How brilliantly Richard Wright could warn others against such blindness. How obstinately he has allowed the warning to go unheeded. For it is not the masses who are lost in a nightmare of defeat, it is only those who have set themselves apart from the people, choking off the source of their own knowledge and strength. And when that happens the tragedy is twofold; the people lose an artist, and the artist loses himself.

The Principles of '76

ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, by *John C. Miller. Little Brown. $3.50.*

A COMBINATION of good history and fine historical writing is so rare these days that it is perhaps not out of place to let go with a few huzzahs for Professor Miller and his book. It is an unfortunate fact that many well-intentioned historians are content to set down the proper facts in the correct sequence and let the results speak for themselves. Those results are likely to test the perseverance of even the most hardened reader, and, what is more, are almost as subversive of good history as are the works of the writer who embellishes his few facts with a welter of slick prose and period pictures.

The writing of history is a fine and precise art—as much to be practiced as the art of a well-welded seam—and surely as much of the historian's job as the collection and evaluation of data. History is an illumination of the past to clarify and guide the present; and unless it fulfills that basic function, the historian fails to communicate his material to the reader.

An excellent example of the historian's art, *Origins of the American Revolution* is at the same time an important book which may well become a classic in our own time. Its significance lies not so much in its general thesis—that the Revolution was a nationalist bourgeois-democratic upheaval—as in

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the clear, documented fashion in which the thesis is supported and developed.

The "principles of '76" were evolved over a considerable period; a product not only of the tyranny of England, they also matured in the course of sharp class struggles within the colonies. The Stamp Act, the Sugar Act, the Declaratory Act, the Proclamation of 1763 hotted up the fires of colonial nationalism; to sustain these fires principles of popular liberty were called into play.

Prior to the Revolution itself popular government was far from democratic. "The victories of the assemblies over the Crown," Professor Miller writes, "were essential in preparing the way for democracy; but it was yet far from certain that America was to be a democracy. Indeed the upper class had almost everywhere entrenched itself so firmly in power that aristocracy rather than democracy seemed likely to be the coming order in America. . . . Virginia was ruled by the great planters of the tidewater; in New York the patroon system concentrated ownership of the best lands in a few wealthy families; and in New England the old aristocracy of learning and godliness had been supplanted by an aristocracy of merchants and traders. It was this wealthy minority which profited chiefly from the ascendancy gained by the colonial assemblies . . . and although they carried on the struggle for home rule in the name of popular liberty, they had no intention of making the people sovereign. They sought rather, to transfer the power from the Crown to themselves without furthering the cause of democracy, much as had the English aristocracy in the 'glorious revolution' of 1688."

Such a revolution of limited liability was, of course, frustrated by the mass of small producers, urban artisans, and debt-ridden farmers to whose democratic demands the wealthy minority were forced in part to accede as the war proceeded. The democratic content of the Revolution, expressed in the various state constitutions which were adopted in the very heat of war, especially that of Pennsylvania, reveals the strength of popular forces and the substance which they gave to the slogans of liberty.

How did the democratic forces develop? How did they help organize the Revolution? How was national unity achieved? How did a united nation prepare for its "really liberating, really revolutionary" war? Why was such a war necessary and inevitable?

It is Professor Miller's stimulating inquiry into these problems that sets his book above the ordinary mold. It should be obvious that the central historical problem of the Revolution, the key to the "principles of '76," lies in the role of the democratic forces. It was the Sons of Liberty, for example, who laid much of the groundwork for the Declaration of Independence; it was they who aroused and amalgamated colonial resistance to acts of British oppression. More than one Stamp Act official, his coat-tails flapping in the breeze as he spurred his sweaty horse, had cause to think of the effective organizing work of Sam Adams' "mobs."

I am not suggesting that the Sons of Liberty embodied all the democratic forces in the colonies; but they stand as an example of the energizing qualities of the popular movement which carried the main burdens of the Revolution. The Revolution, after all, had to be organized; before 1776 independence required constant nourishment.

"It was one of the cardinal points in the plans of the radicals," Professor Miller says, "that Americans must be familiarized with the idea of independence by slowly stripping Great Britain of her authority. It was far safer to inch the colonies toward revolution than to risk all on a bold push; even Sam Adams cautioned his friends to 'wait till the fruit is ripe before we gather it.' . . . The wisest course of action seemed to be to wait for time and events to do their work rather than to adopt high-pressure methods which were almost certain to alienate moderate Americans. . . . Moreover the moderates, particularly John Dickinson, were constantly leaping off the machine and protesting they would not go a foot further until they were assured independence was not just around the corner."

The moderates, of course, constituted an important segment of the nation; they were a numerical majority of the revolutionary forces; they were good patriots, even though they were not, in the main, convinced democrats. The forces which brought the Revolution to maturity and saw it through were a coalition of patriots, united on the central issue of colonial freedom. On other issues there was wide difference of opinion, which was mitigated by compromise on the part of both groups. Thus the Revolution was in fact a war for national liberation which was supported by all classes of society; its op-

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ponents were chiefly Tories, dependent on Britain for official favors, together with some misguided Americans who could not differentiate between British oppression and hatred for colonial aristocrats.

The really great virtue of *Origins of the American Revolution* is the fidelity with which it traces the development of national unity, the clarity with which it expresses the aims of the various class groupings and the emphasis which it properly places on the role of the people. Professor Miller has made a special contribution to the war effort, for there can be no doubt that his book makes for rich and rewarding appreciation of the struggles of our ancestors to break the shackles of tyranny and to set up the world's first experiment in democracy.

STEPHEN PEABODY.

Imperial Japan

TRAVELER FROM TOKYO, *by John Morris. Sheridan House. $2.75.*

MR. MORRIS spent four years in Tokyo as lecturer in English literature at one of the large universities and as a Foreign Office adviser on technical matters. After Pearl Harbor his position gave him diplomatic immunity. He was, therefore, in a position to study the mobilization of the Japanese for war, before he was repatriated to England.

He lived in "the Second House in the Third Block of the Street of Prosperity in the Persimmon-Valley Ward of Tokyo." Numbers didn't mean anything; as a matter of fact, the next house had the same one as his. The chapter dealing with his residence sets the tone for several descriptions of amusing aspects of Japanese life; amusing, but not fully understood by the casual observers who have written little travelogues on Japan.

Mr. Morris makes a serious attempt to give meaning to his experiences. Thus can the quaint formality of his students be understood to have its roots in regimentation. He was later to learn that "they did possess individuality, although their whole education is conducive to its suppression." He found them to be skeptical of the divinity of the Emperor and of their own divine descent. He probed their dislike for the current state of affairs, learning that before the extremist army clique took over, many Communists were produced from this younger educated group.

University students and recent graduates are cited as exceptions, however; bewildered exceptions, at that. Mr. Morris believes that regimentation, through effective propaganda and the strong influence of the Army on practically every phase of life, puts all Japanese into the same family with the Emperor. The doubters doubt without direction and the people have virtually no contact with the outside world. Mr. Morris adds that there is no possibility of clandestine listening to the radio. Schools, newspapers, and motion pictures serve their respective purposes. Police methods, along with the judicial setup, hold even innocent men for six months before they are given a clean bill of health. The hocus-pocus of "Kodo" ("The Imperial Way") completes the picture of soul cleansing and body building for the realization of Japanese imperial policy.

This interesting book, packed with sensitive observations, falls down at the end, however, in its discussion of politics. Poltical conclusions are reached in a work which purposely omits, as outside the author's scope, the political, economic, and industrial factors in Japan. On the basis of discussions with Foreign Office people, Morris believes the Pearl Harbor attack to have been made without their previous knowledge. They "acted in good faith," he says, in dispatching the Kurusu mission. Apologies for the Foreign Office, as something separate from the military, cater to the tendency to measure degrees of moderation in individual Japanese officials and ruling groups, despite their united action in the promulgation of "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." War inevitably implemented this foreign policy which is supported not only by the "Showa Restoration" group, but also by other army groups, big business and the Navy, so often lumped together as "moderate."

These "moderate" elements are now salvaging the Japanese war effort, to make a complete Allied success so costly as to bring forth the possibility of a negotiated peace. Japan wants to maintain her militaristic core and its continental position in China. Like Germany, she will make attempts to create disunity among the Allied powers. The Emperor, who shares the war guilt, could very possibly be put in the forefront of a negotiated peace movement, with perhaps a reference to the Imperial poetry contests held at cherry blossom time.

The author indicates no personal contact with industrial workers and farmers, who, despite regimentation,

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have the ability to feel intolerable economic conditions in exactly the same way non-Japanese do. Soldiers, captured in China, have made statements that show war weariness. Some even stated a desire for the defeat of their country so that it may be reconstructed for the people. There are facts coming out of Japan which tell of labor unrest in important war industries. The farmer is witholding his rice yield from the government—a traditional protest weapon. These are important facets in the Japanese picture. Unfortunately Mr. Morris overlooks them, thereby limiting an understanding of the forces at play within the country.

JAMES C. CRONIN.

Collaborator

PETAIN: *The Old Man of France, by Janet Flanner. Simon & Schuster. $1.*

MARSHAL PETAIN, born in the Second Empire of Napoleon III, lived not only to see France overrun by Germany, but actively furthered his country's capitulation to the Nazi hordes. For more than six decades of his adult life he was an officer in the French army—and at the same time a symbol of defeatism, pessimism, and reaction. Never having trusted French democracy or the people of France to defend and extend their democratic ideals, he ranged himself inevitably on the side of the collaborators with fascism, long before Nazi Germany invaded France in the blitzkrieg of May 1940.

In this smoothly written booklet, at times witty and always sophisticated, Miss Janet Flanner has etched a detailed portrait of the octogenarian. She has expanded her text, which appeared originally as a profile in the *New Yorker* magazine, and has captured something of the sweep and flavor of French history in the past three decades.

Since there is no doubt about her faith in a resurgent democratic France, it is a pity that she has tempered her analysis of Petain's career and at times substituted verbal flourishes for plain speaking. Thus she lends credence to the story of Petain's heroism at the battle of Verdun in World War I by the artful device of claiming that he was both a hero and not a hero; and her defense of the vigor with which Petain quelled the troop mutinies of 1917 tends to weaken her entire expose.

So long as she remains on the personal plane, acidly exposing the venal flaws in Petain's character, she is on good ground. But when she attempts to draw political conclusions, she falters. Thus she speaks of French soldiers singing the "Internationale" in 1917 after the March Revolution in Russia, and calls it "a tune new to young French throats." Does she not know that both words and music of the "Internationale" were written by Frenchmen long before Wold War I? Moreover, her statement: "Today the Left, which in 1899 supported the cause of Dreyfus, supports de Gaulle; the Right, which in *L'Affaire* stood for the Army, supports the regular Army man, Petain," is an over-simplified and inaccurate analysis of the French Liberation Movement, which cuts across the former Right-Left cleavage and seeks to build a genuinely National Front against the Nazi invaders.

But with all its shortcomings, this character profile is useful because it sheds light on the mentality of a reactionary defeatist like Petain and demonstrates that his collaboration with Nazism was not a sudden whim or a product of "mistaken judgment." It was a carefully calculated decision—the historic decision of a group of Frenchmen who in 1936 said: "Rather Hitler than the People's Front," and who, having collaborated with the Nazi "New Order," will now be judged according to their deserts by the aroused and liberated people of France.

J. B. DAVIDSON.

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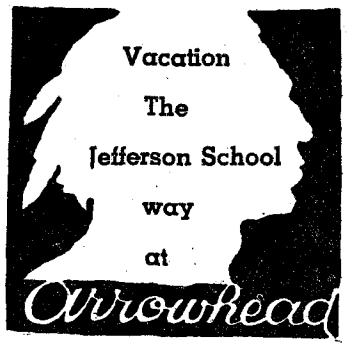

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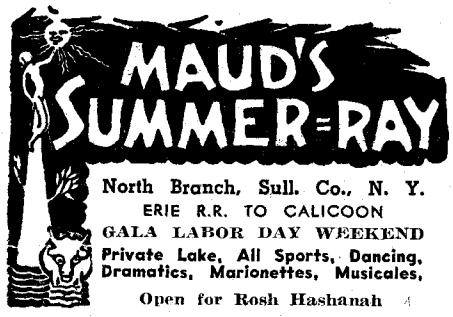

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These are only pictures of the coming home. Mr. Cooley and the editors of *Mechanix Illustrated Magazine* have done a similar descriptive job for the new developments in the automobile, radio, heliocopter, on the farm and in transportation. When is this going to happen? Every one of these seeming miracles—even the fantastic—has its roots in something that is now being tested, studied, blueprinted, and only awaits the successful conclusion of the war against barbarism. If you want these things, get busy and put every moment into the fight. JAMES KNIGHT.

"Good Master"

MAHOGANY, *by Alfredo Segre. Fischer. $2.75.*

IT IS important for us to recognize the problems of the colonial peoples and their relation to the war and victory. Alfredo Segre, in his first novel, helps make clear the tragic condition of those imposed upon by an undemocratic way of life.

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cussions upon the price of his logs. Silva rants against the representative of the American Wood Company, gets drunk, tries to gamble his way out of his financial dilemma, and winds up by losing his plantation. But as "mahogany cutting is in his blood" he starts all over again at someone else's lumber camp.

Ostensibly the adventure of a little trader, this novel is in reality a description of the abyss of decadence that engulfs the exploiters and their parasites. Mr. Segre portrays the business agents and other members of the white colony at their worst—greedy, dishonest, hypocritical, calloused to all but their profit and pleasure. In contrast he offers the humane Silva, a frustrated doctor, and a native boy loyal to his boss.

On the whole, Mr. Segre is noncommittal as to what he believes is the solution to white decadence and Negro exploitation—two evils that are inseparable in colonial countries. The book's chief weakness is that the author sees something heroic in Silva's stand against the highly organized economy which keeps him from prospering. True, Silva intends to turn back part of the fortune he dreams of making into improved living conditions for the workingmen. But even in 1932 this type of solution was utopian and doomed to failure. T. C. Foxx.

Brief Review

A SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND NATIONAL WARTIME CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC, PROFESSIONAL, ART, AND WHITE COLLAR ORGANIZATIONS, *held June 2 and 3, 1944. 132 E. 52nd St., N. Y. 25¢.*

THE proceedings of the white collar and professional conference held in New York last June very effectively reflect the rich content of the conference itself. The material is skillfully digested so that the conversational loose ends are properly pruned, but the whole retains the freshness and informativeness of its original. It offers a reader interested in the participation in war and postwar planning by professional and white collar people a miniature guide to fruitful work. Here is the stuff and flavor of current thinking among an important section of America presented in sufficient detail to be really helpful to such undertakings, say, as planning similar conferences on a local scale. And as the conference was a pioneer in a new form of work suitable to our new world perspective, the proceedings have a unique usefulness.

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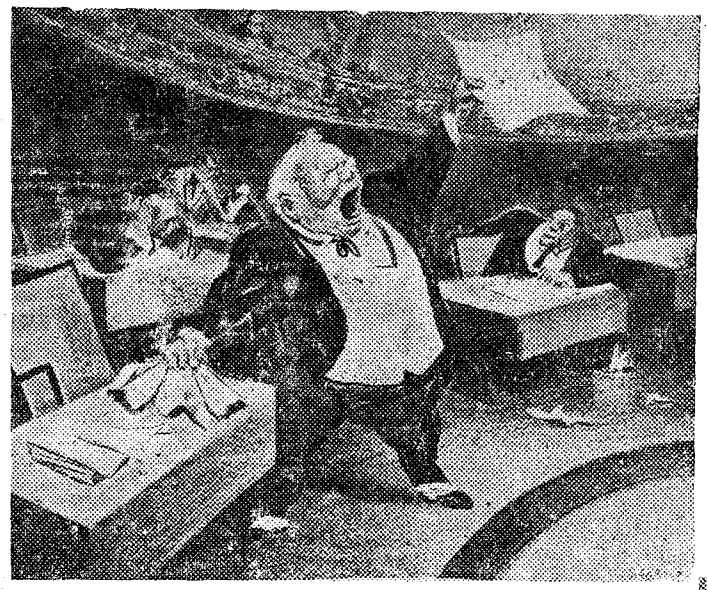

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